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THE NEW REPUBLIC

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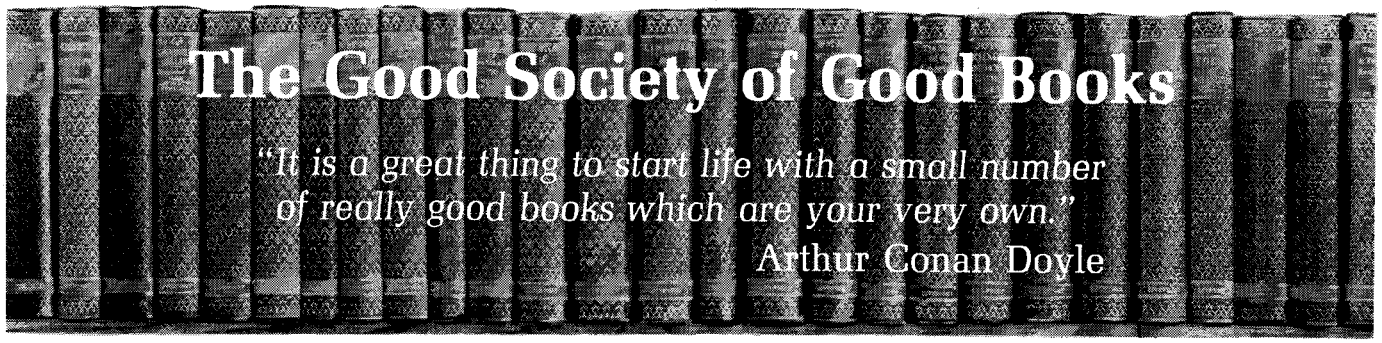
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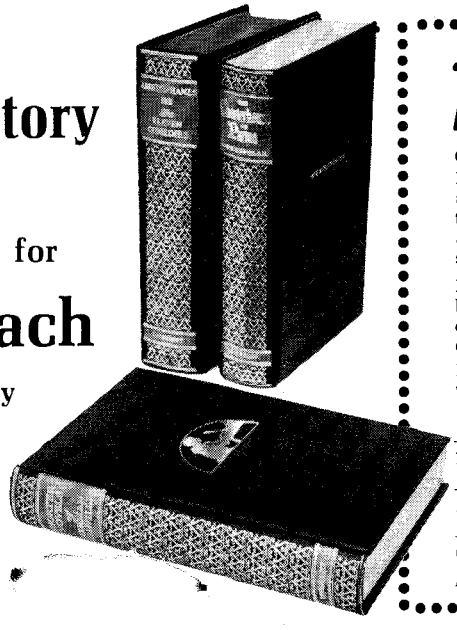

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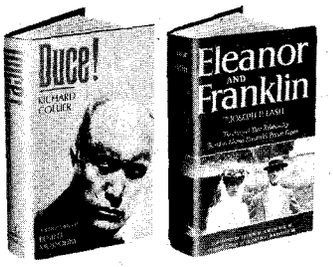

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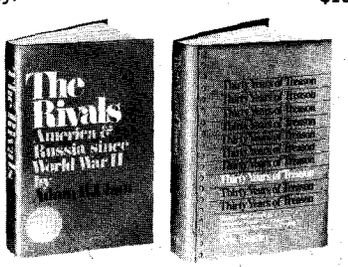

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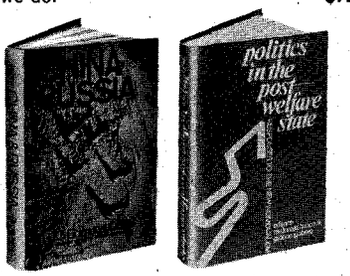

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TRB

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Bus Fuss

The health and stability of our society over the next 50 years may well depend on the direction taken in Washington in the next few months. President Nixon has given us games and circuses in his spectacular trip to Peking but anybody can see with half an eye that the real symptoms of national peril are right here at home – poverty and racial strain. They are surfacing now in these directions: the Senate has started debate on three devastating anti-black, anti-busing amendments attached in the House to the Emergency School Aid bill; the House Judiciary Committee, March 1, starts hearings on a proposed constitutional amendment to ban busing for racial balance; the President apparently has selected school busing as his emotional gut issue for 1972, as he previously used the Communist scare issue 1946-1968, and the law-and-order issue in 1970; and finally, the Supreme Court has accepted a Denver case to decide the constitutionality of segregation imposed covertly by local school districts (arguments probably in March; decision maybe in June).

Short of a national nervous breakdown there is no chance of Congress passing an anti-busing constitutional amendment and President Nixon knew it perfectly well when he summoned advocates to the White House just before he left for China. He wanted to identify himself with the Strom Thurmonds and to undercut George Wallace. He has made the same gesture time and time again. He is a naturally devisive politician who has never hesitated to spread his sails to the winds of hysteria.

In this situation two things should be noted. First, busing is a false issue. In a series of unanimous decisions the Supreme Court has never insisted on forced busing to achieve racial balance. For example, note the use of the word "one" in the opinion by Chief Justice Burger *(Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg)*:" . . . We find no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as *one* tool of school desegregation. . . ." This is typical: the courts have generally been firm, reasonable and responsible.

The second thing to note is that the forces of reason have found a leader – low-keyed, effective, decent, Walter Mondale of Minnesota. (See p. 16) He is 44, the son of a Methodist minister. For sheer guts we hand it to him. He's up for reelection this fall and he's put his political life on the line. Thank God he isn't running for President. Muskie and Humphrey and Lindsay have variously evolved some equivocal or disingenuous formula on busing, Jackson has gone over to the enemy, McGovern has been staunch but rates low on the polls; Mondale and Kennedy aren't running and to that degree can speak their minds, though it could defeat Mondale for the Senate. As we have said before, we rate Mondale of presidential caliber.

For two years he chaired the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, which had heard 300 witnesses and is now shortly coming to an end. It will issue its book-length, two-year report around May 1, which should be a bible on the subject, going into side issues of segregated housing, taxation and standards.

The legislative background for all this is dramatic, and tragic. Almost every year since Congress passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the battle has been fought over again. Heretofore modernists have won but now it is not certain; desegregation has washed up into the North. A year ago the Senate gave strong liberal leadership. It noted that in town after town segregation was being struck down and that this almost automatically set up the cost to provide quality desegregated education. The need for funds is desperate. The Senate offered aid to all school districts that desegregated, whether voluntarily, by court order, or by state law.

The Senate bill went to the House and in a wild session on the night of November 4 the House harpooned the measure with what Mondale calls "three senseless and divisive amendments." It did so with Mr. Nixon's support, direct or implied. It is a tragedy for the nation that in this crucial time for the most racking issue before the country Mr. Nixon has repeatedly been ambiguous; he lamed the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division; sought to undercut the Voting Rights Act, vetoed the child development bill, nominated Judge Carswell, and is now confusing and inflaming the school-bus issue just as many districts over the country are bravely attempting to work out solutions.

The three House amendments would a) prohibit use of federal funds to support transportation to achieve racial desegregation (voluntary or not); b) prohibit any federal agency from urging school districts to use their own funds for this purpose (and ban the Justice Department from enforcing the Constitution in connected court actions); c) bar federal district courts from entering a desegregation order while any appeal is pending, even the most frivolous.

Mondale's portfolio of school improvement in various towns, with or without busing, is profoundly moving. Hoke County, North Carolina, had a triple school system: whites, Negroes and Lumbee Indians. Now they've all integrated, black, white and red: whites continue to progress and blacks have caught up a year and a half.

Hartford, Connecticut, bused 1000 minority group students, picked at random, from ghetto to suburban schools. Careful analysis showed no loss to the whites and dramatic gains for the blacks.

A vast weight of expert educational evidence is that integrated education, sensitively conducted and with community support, can be better education for all – whites, blacks, rich and poor. Kids learn from kids more than from teachers. Busing is a symbol; it isn't the real issue at all; by itself it can be either helpful or harmful. It is sad to see it turned now into a divisive, inflammatory, political code word for a presidential election like "anti-Communism" and "law-and-order." The facts remain; the Supreme Court is not our enemy; remember that busing would be required only where it is reasonable. The Court's exact words, "busing will not be allowed to significantly impinge on the educational process." These seem plain enough and should reassure people if Mondale's courageous statements are heard.

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Enlightening The Natives

A Senate-House conference committee broke up last week without agreement on future government funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, those far-flung enterprises in propaganda that until recently were secretly financed by the CIA at a cost of approximately $35 million a year. Senator Fulbright is willing to allow funding that would see the two operations through until the end of this June. But what he really wants is their "liquidation," for he sees them as relics of the Cold War and as serving no practical purpose as we move, hopefully, into that "era of negotiation" to which the President is pledged. Supporters of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, on the other hand, believe that the "objective" news and commentary that they beam to the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union *are* useful, in that they provide those news-starved people with accurate information, without which they may act irrationally and that in turn, would endanger peace. They add that the two operations are no longer preoccupied with "roll-back" or "liberation" of those who dwell in darkness, just with education. And, since Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are more "independent" than the Voice of America, they are more believable to listeners behind what once was called the Iron Curtain. It is a curious claim, for they are now openly funded by the US government, and it's hard to see how they could long be, or should be, "independent" of their government subsidizers.

A somewhat different argument was made by the author of a Library of Congress report on Radio Liberty, prepared at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He defined the purpose of Radio Liberty as seeking "to bring about peaceful, democratic change from within." His report said that if Radio Liberty were disbanded, the Soviet people "will have lost a free press for the inflow of information." So we come back to the original purpose of these foreign broadcasts, which was not merely to give the news, but to encourage, perhaps to incite, change inside Communist countries.

All this poses a question about the American obligation to educate everyone, everywhere. Thomas Jefferson was sure that if light were given, "the people will find their way." But it is doubtful if he saw this mission in world terms. Give light to the Bulgarians? If the Bulgarians, why not the Spaniards and the South Africans and the Brazilians – not to mention the Chinese – whether they like it or not?

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Why not a Free Greece Radio? And beyond that, might not this power to communicate be put to work in those many towns and cities in the United States where dark ignorance and racism and poverty are the norms, which need "peaceful, democratic change from within," and where our obligation is patent.

To date, $306,890,469 of public funds have gone into Radio Free Europe, and $158,830,637 into Radio Liberty. The former broadcasts 18 hours a day to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Hungary over 32 transmitters in Germany and Spain and has 1600 employees. Radio Liberty concentrates on the Soviet Union, to which it beams programs every hour, seven days a week, in 17 dialects and over 17 transmitters in Spain, Taiwan and West Germany. The presumably less "independent" Voice of America which beams its programs worldwide in 36 languages, and which devotes 40 percent of its air time to audiences in Communist countries, has 108 medium- and short-wave transmitters around the globe and had a budget in 1971 of $41 million.

Last June in these pages we noted that while institutions have their just claims perpetuity is not one of them. That should apply to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The conditions of bi-polar confrontation that gave rise to such operations two decades ago have altered considerably. Our response to the new realities ought to reflect those changes.

It is natural for nations that have such radically different social systems as the US and the USSR to believe, each quite firmly, that they and only they are the possessors and emissaries of the truth, that only they can report objectively. Each country may even feel that its dedication to truth requires it to inform the other of the real state of affairs, and that by so doing it will foster better understanding. But as a matter of national policy, we doubt the efficacy of the attitude that *we* know what's good for *them.* It would be interesting, for example, to see what the reaction in Congress would be were the Soviet Union to establish in Cuba a broadcasting service round the clock, designed to bring into every American home the Kremlin's "truth" about the world. Of course, the Kremlin wouldn't tell "the truth," and Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty do. If only the world saw it so. But until it does, if Congress has an extra $35 million a year to spend on enlightenment, we suggest it be put into "independent" Public Broadcasting in the US, where the need is clear, the educational benefits more visible, and the risks of unnecessary irritation are less.

COMING: A feminist experiment in education – by Barbara Harrison

Askew of Florida

When a crop of "moderate" southern governors was sworn in last year, Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter was proclaimed the standard bearer of the New Wave, a Kennedyesque pretender to the vice presidency. But Florida's Reuben Askew, a somber-suited, low-profile politician who attends church every Sunday but opposes prayer in the public schools, has emerged as the only courageous progressive of the lot. More seriously than any other southern governor, Askew has systematically appointed blacks to high state positions and is attempting to beef up the black presence in the state patrol. Last November, riding a populist wave of support, he secured passage of Florida's first corporate tax law. Two weeks ago, he became the first southern governor to follow through on the California supreme court decision and extend the moratorium on capital punishment. But it is on race – more specifically, on "busing" – that Askew has been boldest.

While Jimmy Carter was endorsing a statewide anti-busing school boycott, in violation of Georgia's compulsory attendance laws, Askew was putting the following question on the Florida ballot as a straw poll: "Do you favor providing an equal opportunity for quality education for all children regardless of race, creed, color or *place of residence* [emphasis added] and oppose a return to a dual system of public schools?" Meanwhile, the Florida legislature fecklessly whipped through an anti-busing question for the same ballot, encouraging support for a constitutional amendment to "prohibit forced busing." Ever hear anyone speak of "forced walking," or "forced schooling"? That's what "neighborhood schools" require.

Askew recognizes that busing is "an artificial and inadequate instrument of change," which "should be abandoned just as soon as we can afford to do so." But he warns that, "we must not take the risk of returning to the kind of segregation, fear and misunderstanding which produced the very problem that led to busing in the first place." And he flatly opposes any constitutional amendment. This in conservative Orange County, Florida, where the folks voted nine to one against busing in a straw poll last year. This despite the overwhelming response George Wallace is getting with his anti-busing palaver all over the state. Askew hasn't a political leg to stand on, yet he's standing firm.

Call It Head Start

The House has passed and the Senate is about to consider an authorization for the Office of Economic Opportunity that would extend what's left of the war on

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poverty through mid-1973 and replace the bill Mr. Nixon vetoed December 9. In its compromise response to that veto, the House tried to deal with some though not all of the President's criticisms, particularly his rejection of a national child day-care program.

Mr. Nixon turned down the original bill on three major grounds. First he had wanted OEO made over into an experimental agency unburdened by large staff and fixed programs, free from the formal requirements built into law that could turn the agency into "just another ossified bureaucracy." Congress, Mr. Nixon said, had wrongly earmarked money for specific OEO programs, and thus would have put constraints on OEO's flexibility. In addition, he objected to the creation of a "family-weakening" federal child-care program, and to an independent but "irresponsibly structured" legal services program.

By an unanticipated margin of 107 votes the House passed on February 17 a new bill. It preserves the earmarking of funds, and keeps the legal services section virtually intact, but drops child care in favor of a beefed up Head Start program. Although Mr. Nixon liked the idea of taking lawyers for the poor out of the poverty office and putting them into an independent corporation, isolated at least in theory from political pressures, he didn't like, and presumably still doesn't, the way the House wants him to select the corporation's trustees: the President would appoint 17 persons to serve a basic term of three years, but 11 of them would have to be chosen from a list supplied by bar and judicial associations. Nixon calls this procedure "an affront to the principle of accountability" to the electorate. There's a good case to be made for that opinion. The manner of selection as prescribed in the present House bill is as dubious as requiring the President to pick federal judges from a list drawn up by the ABA.

The House approach to child care may put to rest the fear of the White House that the federal government is about to undermine family life and introduce "communal" child rearing. The scheme Mr. Nixon vetoed and which hasn't been revived would have spent $2 billion a year on health, education and social services that would be available free to children of poor people and at a graduated fee to other parents wishing to participate. Nixon preferred, and has included in his proposed welfare reform legislation, babysitting services exclusively for the children of welfare mothers, so they can go out and work. The present House alternative is a compromise. Head Start preschools, an already proven commodity, would be funded at $1.5 billion dollars over two years, or twice the $720 million requested by the administration. Head Start is locally controlled, and parents may take a hand in making decisions, an arrangement that educates them along with their children. It's familiar, unthreatening, but nevertheless rather novel in that it assumes some of the child-rearing responsibility traditionally held by parents. The House would make middle-class children eligible, however, and their parents would pay what they could afford. By focusing generosity on Head Start rather than something wholly new and irrationally feared, the representatives may have found a practical, partial solution to the day-care problem.

The Nixon Watch

Mission to China

Peking

At a ballet staged for the Nixons on the second night of their stay in China, the thought came that we of the President's press party really were in attendance upon a dream. The ballet was *The Red Detachment of Women*, the tale of a peasant's daughter who escaped the clutches of a cruel landlord and his running dogs, joined the Red Army, fought with it and the broad revolutionary masses (who appeared to include a large proportion of beautiful women) until the victory of 1949 was won and the People's Republic was established "under the banner of Mao Tse-tung." It was a crude and simple tale, superbly presented, in which all of the enemies of the revolution were villains and all of its heroes were paragons of proletarian virtue. The landlord (suitably slain by the peasant's daughter) and his evil henchmen could, without excessive strain of the imagination, have been taken to typify Mr. Nixon's wealthy supporters and many of his other admirers at home. The brave and glowing fighters "for the freedom of all mankind," as the official synopsis of the ballet described them, could with equal ease have been supposed to represent Mr. Nixon's "campus bums" and militant segments of the Students for a Democratic Society. And there were Richard Nixon and his wife, applauding the show and, after it was over, thanking Premier Chou En-lai and Chiang ching, the small and demure and formidable wife of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, for arranging it and going with them to see it.

For the reporters who arrived on Sunday afternoon, 16 hours ahead of the President, the dream began in the wintry dusk that shrouded the way from the Peking Central Airport into the city. It was a poor time and a good time for getting to the city that Richard Nixon had been yearning and plotting to visit at least since 1967, when he wrote in a famous magazine article of the need to bring the United States and the People's Republic of China into accord. It was a poor time in the sense that we were weary, dulled by 13 hours in the air on the trip from Honolulu with brief stops at Guam and Shanghai. The doctors and advance men who counseled Mr. Nixon to break his journey across

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the international dateline with two nights in Honolulu and another in Guam were wise. The reporters had the same two nights in Honolulu, but the sudden leap from our Saturday to China's Sunday and the welcome at the Shanghai airport, meant by our Chinese hosts to be friendly and pleasant, but wearing because it made for useless delay, left us in a mood to be captious and disillusioned. We were both, and it was a good thing that we were.

In our fascination with our marginal share in a great adventure that could change the world, even the few old China hands among us needed to be reminded of a point that Chou En-lai has been making since last July to American enthusiasts who have interviewed him. The point is that China, feared though it has been and mightier now than it has ever been before, is still a poor country and, in the scales of world power, a weak country. Silly though the remark that follows may seem to people who know enough to distrust instant judgments, it is true that we saw the poverty and perceived the weakness during the 40 minutes of our bus ride from the airport into Peking. Over the years, I had seen deeper poverty and national weakness in other countries of Asia and some of my companions had observed far more of it, in pre-Communist China and elsewhere, than I had. But there was something in the grey pallor of the afternoon, the rows of bare trees and the bare fields and the glimpses of huddled farm buildings and of laboring men and animals along the road, that bespoke to us the poverty and weakness that Chou En-lai emphasizes when it suits his purposes.

The ride through the western sector of Peking, down the magnificent expanse of Chang an jie avenue and past Tien an men Square, where Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 and where millions of Chinese come every year to celebrate the Republic's survival and success, had a similar effect in a rather odd way. This surely was not the storied Peking, the ancient city of gentle charm that countless Chinese and foreign writers depicted in the time before Mao and his Republic. This, it seemed then and has seemed in the three days since then, is a city of massive new buildings, of national glory anticipated and exalted and yet to be realized to the full, and grimly sought until it is realized. Strangest of all to an occasional traveler who has lived with the bustle and racket of Hong Kong and Taipei, amid the sound of Chinese voices raised in continuous noisy dialogue, this Peking turns out to be a quiet city. On side streets off the boulevards and the immense ceremonial square where people are dwarfed by the expanse, there is a deafening and puzzling quietude. I read nothing into this fact except that it is an interesting fact.

Perhaps the pervasive quiet of Peking had something to do with the notably quiet reception that Mr. Nixon and his party got on Monday morning. We reporters related it at the time to the reception we got at the temporary press center in the Palace of Nationalities, adjoining the Nationalities Hotel where we were quartered. Our reception was at once friendly and clearly intended to remind us that we were here at the invitation and as the guests of a great country and a great government. It fell to Yu Chung-ching, a tall and authoritative official of the foreign ministry, to drive the point home. Mr. Yu, who speaks English with a British accent acquired at the London School of Economics in 1966, held forth at length upon the splendid facilities provided for us: among other things, 154 chairs at 22 tables equipped with 44 microphones; 25 teleprinter and telephone channels for communication, mostly by satellite, with the United States; 10 broadcast booths at the center and a whole new building, erected from scratch, at the airport for network studios and transmission. After noting that these conveniences had been provided by the People's Republic of China at the request of White House officials, Mr. Yu said with a rolling flourish: "If the American officials wish to use the press room for press conferences or other purposes, they are requested to raise the matter with the information office of the foreign ministry and consideration will be given to the matter." Reporters accustomed to the authoritative manner of Ronald Ziegler, the President's press secretary, absorbed the lesson and silently thanked Mr. Yu.

Ziegler said afterward that the Monday welcome "was exactly what we expected." The waiting reporters more or less expected it, too, having learned (for example) that the diplomats who represent 66 governments which recognize the People's Republic had been told on Friday, after persistent and often plaintive inquiries, that they would not be permitted to attend the President's arrival. It was an eerie welcome, all the same. No casual onlookers of any nationality were admitted to the airport. In a typical and previously agreed piece of reticence, neither Chinese nor American officials would identify the Chinese greeters until they appeared, minutes before the President's jet landed and taxied up to the terminal. Just before that happened, the United States and Chinese flags were run up two flagpoles. Fifteen other poles remained naked. Premier Chou En-lai, placid and erect and unsmiling in a grey overcoat over a dark suit, marched onto the tarmac at the last moment, at the head of 17 senior officials and a separate party of 25 junior dignitaries. A People's Liberation Army honor guard, some 500 men in khaki and blue, precisely the same height and impressively drilled, and a PLA band were in place when the presidential plane door opened and the Nixons stepped onto the ramp. Mrs. Nixon's right hand rose in a short and tentative wave, then dropped. For the first time in more than three years that I have watched him leave his plane, the President kept his hands down and still. Within five minutes it was all over – the subdued greetings at the foot of the ramp, the playing of the national anthems, the march past

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the honor guard, and the departure in black Chinese limousines and the smaller grey sedans.

Once in Peking, down Chang an jie Avenue past Tien an men Square to the compound of government guest houses where the Nixon party was put up, the only onlookers were people who had been forbidden by the police to cross or traverse the avenue. Half a million people had been summoned to the square to greet Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, a comparable throng to honor President Ceasescu of Romania. As foreign ministry functionaries and the interpreters assigned to the American reporters kept saying, it was proper, polite and appropriate – all, they said, that the chief of a government that didn't recognize the People's Republic could expect and, the available American officials said, in fact did expect. That was true enough. But an event soon to be known confirmed an impression that I had brought to Peking from Washington. The impression was that the Peking leaders wanted this visit and wanted the world to believe that Mr. Nixon wanted it more than they did. "He wanted to come so we invited him," Chou told interviewers last summer. This version was privately resented and quietly countered at the White House, but not so audibly or in such a way as to irritate Chou and Mao.

The confirming event was Chairman Mao's meeting in secret on Monday afternoon, in his yellow-roofed and modest home in a corner of the old Forbidden City, with Mr. Nixon before the President got down to serious talk with Premier Chou. The President knew before he left Washington that he would meet and confer with Mao, but he indicated during his flight from Washington that he didn't count on it happening so early in the visit. The fact that it did was supremely important to the visitor and his hosts, because it was a signal to the people of China that the anti-American signs which still graced the walls on Tien an men Square no longer meant much. There was sure to be at least one more meeting with Mao; Chou implied the certainty when he said not long ago that the results and significance of the Nixon visit would not be known until the President had his "final talk with Chairman Mao."

The crowded Monday ended with Premier Chou's obligatory dinner for the President and his party. It was a sumptuous affair in the monumental Great Hall of the People, one of 10 huge buildings constructed in 1958 and 1959 in celebration of the Republic's 10th anniversary. President Nixon at table with Premier Chou and officials of the People's Republic under the American and Communist Chinese flags and in world view by way of television, was the stuff of dreams.

Hearing the PLA band play "Turkey in the Straw" and "Home on the Range" for an American President and his wife deserved to be but wasn't noted by Nixon as one of his historic firsts. Watching the President touch glass some 70 times with Chinese officials at the Premier's and adjoining tables was something to remember. But it was the toasts, Nixon's to Chou and Chou's to Nixon and to their respective countries, that historians will ponder.

The most to be said for Nixon's was that it was conventionally eloquent ("This is the hour. This is the day for our two peoples to rise to the heights of greatness") and that he imitated Lincoln at Gettysburg ("What we say here will not be long remembered. What we do here can change the world"). With television obviously in mind, he read his text straight through instead of pausing at intervals, as he usually does on such occasions, for translation in the host's language. Chou paused frequently for translation, and his statement had bite in it. The bite came with his recitation of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" that he first enunciated at the Bandung Conference in 1955. When Chou spoke of the duty of nations to practice "mutual respect for sovereignty" and "noninterference in each other's internal affairs," he was talking about Taiwan, the island home of Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China, and once more putting Nixon on notice that there cannot be normal relations with the People's Republic so long as the United States questions Communist China's claim to Taiwan. He didn't mention other contentious issues that he has said he wants to discuss with Nixon – total American military withdrawal from Asia and the nearby Pacific, for instance – and he said the visit was "a positive move" toward "the normalization of relations." It was a happy sort of evening and it boded well for the outcome of the Nixon visit. An important question was what and how much the Peking government would tell the people of China through its controlled media.

That question was answered on Tuesday, with a bang. The government's principal newspaper, *The People's Daily*, printed on its front page a big picture of Mao greeting Nixon; another of Mao and Nixon with Chou and Henry Kissinger, and a third of Chou greeting Nixon at the airport. Four more pictures on the second page, with the texts of the Chou and Nixon toasts, completed a statement to the Chinese people that this visit had the total blessing of Chairman Mao and that they should expect good and great things for the People's Republic to flow from it. Four pictures in Wednesday's paper, one of them showing Chou, the Nixons and the Chairman's wife, Chiang ching, applauding the performers of *The Red Detachment of Women*, and a spate of friendly stories, continued to prove that what we are seeing here isn't a dream.

Midway in this incredible visit, the word is that Peking is quiet and that it's snowing and that Richard Nixon, taking in an exhibition of Chinese gymnastics on Wednesday night, must be a pleased and happy President. He isn't forgetting, one may be sure, that it's 1972.

John Osborne

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Landsmann

After 25 years on the national scene, Sen. Humphrey may be without a peer in understanding the intricacies of ethnic politics and in playing to them.

On a recent Sunday evening, he spoke to three hundred Orthodox Jews at a banquet held to raise funds for a Hebrew day school in Miami. He had many old friends and supporters in the audience, which, before the night was out gave $100,000 to the school.

In his speech, Sen. Humphrey made the following points:

– It is, he said, wrong "that the United States still refuses to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of the state of Israel."

– He told his audience he was there to "define a new right – the right of every American child to know his heritage" and said the Hebrew school for which funds were being raised is in that tradition.

– He called upon President Nixon to "issue an executive order stating that federally funded food programs should include kosher foods."

– He referred to the observance of the Sabbath as "a right" and said caucuses and conventions to select delegates, primaries or any other federal activity should not take place on a Saturday because that day is observed as the Sabbath in the Jewish and Seventh-Day Adventist communities.

– He said firms with federal contracts should be cut off if they didn't grant employes the right to observe the Sabbath on Saturday.

In the course of his speech, Humphrey rejected the term "melting pot" as a description of this country and said, instead, it's a "tapestry" that is "rich in diversity."

Humphrey was given a special plaque and a couple of standing ovations.

Meany Man

But Humphrey wasn't greeted with solid acclaim everywhere he went in Florida.

At a closed session of the AFL-CIO executive committee at Bal Harbour, Humphrey was roundly criticized to his face by Paul Hall, the head of the small but influential Seafarer's Union.

Hall and some of his colleagues have been indicted by the Justice Department for the methods they have used to channel funds for political campaigns and few, if any, of the politicians who received these funds have come to their aid and comfort.

Behind closed doors, Hall stood up and accused Humphrey of not coming to their support. He said Humphrey had failed to raise his voice in behalf of the union or place a single sentence in the *Congressional Record* for the union.

It was an embarrassing moment, both for Humphrey and AFL-CIO President George Meany, who was presiding.

Meany's discomfort at the time was compounded because, according to sources within the AFL-CIO, he has given up on the candidacy of his first choice, Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson (D, Wash.) and is putting out the word that Humphrey's the man.

Aside from that quiet switch in emphasis on candidates, the strategy of Meany and his chief political hack, Al Barkan of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), remains unchanged.

The Meany-Barkan demand is for one-fourth of the delegates from each state, preferably chosen with an "uncommitted" status so they can be swung behind any candidate the aging labor boss picks at Miami Beach in July.

However, it's not been too successful. In Arizona, the AFL-CIO's "uncommitted" slates were virtually wiped out and, in Iowa, had limited success.

Even though the orders are coming down from the top, there's a lot of doubt as to whether rank-and-file members will pay any attention to the Meany-Barkan strategy.

A handmade banner carried by one union member at a Wallace rally in Jacksonville, Fla., last week read: "I may be a sheep but Meany's not my shepherd. I'm for Wallace."

Pinkney's Retreat

In Ohio, Humphrey has lost a big name on his at-large slate – that of Arnold Pinkney, who was Carl Stokes' hand-picked "independent" candidate to succeed him as mayor of Cleveland in last fall's election.

Pinkney's name next to that of National Committeeman Arnold Porter, the boss of white ethnic courthouse politics in Cuyahoga County for over a generation, was particularly impressive as a show of across-the-board strength. However, Pinkney took his name off. Why?

One report has it that Muskie aides in Ohio suggested very strongly that Pinkney's presence on the Humphrey slate raised questions as to the proclaimed "neutrality" of Stokes, who is running his own "uncommitted" slate in Ohio's 21st congressional district. It is unopposed but there was a suggestion it might be opposed if Pinkney remained on the Humphrey slate.

Actually, no candidate wanted to challenge Stokes in the 21st. For two reasons. First, his slate probably

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couldn't be defeated. Second, the Democratic vote in that district accounts for about 5 or 6 percent of the statewide Democratic primary vote and none of the candidates wanted to risk alienating its leadership.

Stokes and Washington DC Rep. Walter Fauntroy (D) are the only two black leaders who appear to be having success at this juncture in putting together "uncommitted" slates under their own leadership.

Scoop Muskie

The wags are still having fun with the "Scoop for President" billboards in Florida which identify Jackson only by his picture.

A recent quip: "Jackson may run fourth in Florida but 'Scoop' won't come in any better than sixth."

In the same vein, a Muskie strategist is threatening to rent a lot of billboards in the last week of the primary campaign to broadcast this message: "Vote for Scoop Muskie."

Part-timer

Roger Hilsman, Jr., director of Intelligence and Research for the State Department during the Kennedy administration, is taking a close look at a race for Congress in Connecticut's Second District. The district, which covers most of eastern Connecticut, is now held by Rep. Robert Steele, a 33-year-old Republican serving his first term.

Hilsman has told supporters he will devote two days a week to campaigning in the immediate future; however, he has three or four viable opponents and two days a week may not be enough of a commitment to satisfy party leaders anxious to win the seat back this November. Hilsman is now on the political science faculty at Columbia University but lives in the Second District of Connecticut.

Hybrid

The written word can't always be underestimated. At least that's the case with Mike Royko's best-selling biography of Mayor Richard Daley called *Boss*. Persons close to Mayor Kevin White of Boston say he keeps a copy of the book close at hand at all times and has adopted a new slogan for his political operations, namely: "Lindsay's Goals and Daley's Methods."

To carry it out, city hall employes are being carefully screened for their political inclinations and are being sent out to ring doorbells for candidates favored by Mayor White. Example: Mayor White has thrown his support behind Jack Lynch, a candidate for the state senate in the Boston area. Lynch has primary opposition and city hall employes are showing up in his campaign.

In The Public Interest
The Property-Tax Gyp

The local property-tax controversy is beginning to boil up. Presidential candidates are giving us their ideas for relief. The President is considering asking Congress to enact a "value added tax," better named a national consumer tax, to lighten the property-tax burden. Exactly how this is to be done hasn't been explained. Nor do we know how a consumer sales tax, which leans hardest on folks who aren't rich, is going to do anything more than fool the small taxpayer into thinking he's come out ahead.

Little attention is being given to the enormous revenues lost to local governments because many large property holders, mostly corporations, are grossly underpaying or avoiding this tax. The administration of the property tax is riddled with political and patronage interference. Dozens of citizen-taxpayer reform groups in cities and towns know that the rich pay less, the poor pay more, and schools and other municipal services that rely on such revenues are cut back or deteriorate. Late last year some school systems shut down temporarily because they ran out of money.

Among the candidates, only Senator Muskie, who intends to open hearings on property taxes next month, has put his mind to these problems. Other candidates are talking about exchanging one tax for another or boring more holes into an already swiss-cheese tax system.

Based on recent studies from various states and the detailed information sent to our property tax newsletter by local citizen-researchers, an estimated $7 billion per year, at least, is being denied local communities because many corporations don't pay their fair share of property taxes under existing state law.

Through underassessment of large commercial, industrial, and natural resource property and through special low-tax zones, which shelter industries from the tax burdens but not the services of the nearby community, the small homeowner and businessman take on a heavier load. Furthermore, a kind of tax blackmail has been practiced by large corporations who play off one jurisdiction against another in order to exact tax concessions as the price of remaining in or entering a community. Here are some samples of the abuses:

1. Underassessment of oil and gas properties belonging to such firms as Atlantic Richfield and Texaco in Ector County, Texas, has cost the county school board $7 million in the past seven years. Similarly, timberlands in East Texas are extraordinarily underassessed, with the windfall millions going to such giants as International Paper, Boise Cascade and Champion-US Plywood.
2. Another huge company, Union Camp, escapes pay-

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ing over $3 million annually in property taxes to the city of Savannah, Georgia, largely due to a special industrial zone it rammed through the state legislature when the city was on its economic knees during the depression.

3. A 1970 study by law students at the University of Texas found that industrial and commercial properties in the Houston area were assessed at around 13 percent of fair market value, while residential properties were assessed at 31.9 percent.

4. In the coal-rich regions of Appalachia, the coal companies, already enjoying federal depletion allowances, present their own assessments to most tax commissioners. Even if a commissioner wants to check the figures, he lacks the technical know-how and the backing of his superiors, who are often tied to the coal industry. Self-assessment by the highly profitable coal companies drains millions of dollars from the coal-rich but revenue-starved mountain counties with their impoverished school systems. Acres of coal land conservatively worth $200 to $500 per acre are assessed at $10 per acre. Other large coal acreages have not even been reported to the assessors.

5. The vast US Steel plant in Gary, Indiana is underassessed by anywhere from $100 million to $500 million. The township's assessor says that the company in effect presents its own tax bill by refusing to provide information on its capital investments. US Steel has even refused to take out city building permits in order to preserve the secrecy of its property values. As a company town, Gary has neither the staff nor resources nor political courage to fight big steel in the courts, especially when badly needed city revenues can be tied up indefinitely pending litigation. In Chicago, the Citizens Against Pollution have estimated that underpayment of property taxes to that city amounts to $16.4 million per year.

Many other special privileges, stemming from raw political power, or sheer illegality, reduce by many millions of dollars the rightful taxes due from rural areas in California held for speculation, from timber regions in Maine, and from new commercial buildings in the large cities. In Chicago, the assessor got contributions for his recent reelection campaign from several very wealthy realtors. Several of those realtors owned new buildings, which were given preferential assessments by the assessor.

Reforms of the property-tax system have been urged in studies dating back to the 19th century. Now that the financial bind pinches, it's time to carry out those old recommendations. Assessors must be properly trained, given adequate resources, insulated from politics and required to operate openly with full disclosure of assessment decisions. Realistic assessments regularly updated and the abolition of preferential exemptions, reductions and industry zones will close many loopholes. There is also no reason why a progressive property tax, as used in Australia, can't be used to help smaller property owners. Finally, procedures for easy and quick property-tax appeals should be established.

The Muskie hearings will explore how Washington can lend technical and financial assistance to put these reforms into effect. The federal government could also provide more revenues to state and local units if it closed the gaping holes in federal tax laws that let corporations and millionaires escape the payment of billions of dollars.

Ralph Nader

COMING: The case for nominating John Lindsay – by Bronson La Follette

Charter Flights

The Civil Aeronautics Board has been considering for more than a year a proposal to do away with some of the restrictions on low-fare charter flights across the north Atlantic. Sometime this month it should reach a decision on the new "non-affinity charter" that would permit any group of 50 people to arrange a flight to Europe, provided they sign up and pay at least 25 percent of the fare six months before take-off. The most often used charter today is the "affinity charter," which may be organized by 40 or more people who have belonged for more than six months to a club not created for the purpose of travel. (These restrictions are frequently violated, and that may explain why the CAB has decided to remove them.) If the Board decides to go ahead with the plan before it, the advance waiting period will be cut to four months this year to let travel agents take advantage of the summer season. It's intended to be a three-year experimental project.

After formally making its intentions known last December 1971, the CAB invited the travel industry – agents, airlines, charter companies – to comment. The charter companies praised the scheme, and the two American airlines that fly scheduled routes across the Atlantic, Pan American and Trans World Airlines, said it's a terrible idea. Some travel agents believe they will experience a boom because of the lowered cost of traveling, but many resent a loosening of restrictions that will allow newcomers into the travel business and complicate chartering procedures. More influential, though, is the argument of big airlines that any further relaxation of charter restrictions may end all scheduled

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flights to Europe.

Pan Am and TWA have submitted thick folders to the CAB, showing with graphs and surveys that the non-affinity charter will rob them of so many regular customers that they may go bankrupt, require a government subsidy or give up schedules and fly charters themselves. They do their best to demonstrate that charter companies (technically known as "supplemental airlines") bear the blame for reducing transatlantic air profits in recent years. Under present CAB regulations, the scheduled airlines regard American air travelers as their rightful property; TWA, for example, said in its brief that a "decline in profitability on scheduled services" has been "caused in large measure by the division of traffic to the supplementals." Charter companies are seen not as competitors, but as diverters who leech off a market supported by the regular lines. Pan Am voices a similar complaint: "By diverting over $50 million in revenue from Pan Am and TWA in a single year, the charter airlines caused the combined Pan Am/TWA transatlantic operations to operate at a loss" in 1970. The tone becomes more petulant when the airlines speak grandly of the history of commercial travel, as when TWA writes, "The limited service carriers were latecomers in the jet scene and have ridden the coat tails on the accumulated technical experience of the scheduled carriers."

Both TWA and Pan Am surveyed their passengers to Europe in 1970 to see how many would have used charter flights had they been available. By TWA's estimate, 49 percent would have used the non-affinity charter to save $100 or more, and Pan Am calculated that 66 percent of its customers would have done so to save between $50 and $200. The conclusion they draw, in Pan Am's words, is that the non-affinity charter "simply cannot be supported as a responsible proposal at the present time." Thirty percent or more of the market would fall to charters, they believe, and the entire industry would have to go along. TWA predicts that if this happened, the public would have to make do with "low fares along with only limited, irregular and infrequent service."

The airlines confess their financial instability because they want to convince the CAB that charters are undermining the market, and should be restrained. The CAB must uphold the federal policy articulated by President Nixon in June 1970, that "in any instances where a substantial impairment of scheduled services appears likely, it would be appropriate, where necessary to avoid prejudice to the public interest, to take steps to prevent such impairment." Arguing that they provide flights on unprofitable runs, the regular airlines have asked the government to shelter them from unfair competition and companies that don't keep "a healthy route balance." The first fallacy is the implication that Pan Am and TWA maintain their less profitable routes out of a sense of national responsibility. In its comment for the CAB, TWA said it has cut service on four unprofitable routes since 1970; no doubt it would try to cut more if there were any advantage in it.

The real problem of the airlines – and this points to the second fallacy in their attack on the charters – is that they have overspent and overpromoted themselves in competing for tourist passengers, while the charter companies have continued to operate with full plane loads. Robert Fink, in two articles in *The New Republic* last year (February 13 and September 11), described the bind in which the airlines have put themselves. They bought big planes in the hope that this would attract passengers, eventually raised fares to pay for the equipment, lost customers, and then were forced to raise fares further to recoup the loss. The original mistake was buying the giant 747s at a time when the economy was cooling off and air travel declining.

Pan Am, according to *Fortune* magazine, is the most seriously threatened of the big airlines; the company has incurred losses of about $100 million over the last three years and supports a long-term debt of $1 billion. It bought 33 Boeing 747s for $750 million, and paid another $90 million to build a maintenance and test facility at Kennedy airport to take care of them. Since then, *Fortune* reports, Pan Am has appealed for higher fares, asked for permission to operate domestic routes, sought to have charters and foreign lines restricted, and considered cutting back its most unprofitable runs in Latin America. This last project was abandoned when Pan Am decided that losing the South American bases would reduce revenue, shift the burden of administrative work to other offices, and in the end cost more than it would save.

Although the charters didn't bring about the financial crisis at Pan Am and TWA, they are part of it now. Both companies find it difficult to squeeze a profit from the Atlantic routes and they fear that the non-affinity charter – even with its six-month waiting period and 25 percent deposit requirement – will take away the small margin that remains. The CAB has said if "large scale diversion does begin to threaten," the CAB would "amend the regulation to provide for an earlier filing date, a higher deposit requirement, or both, if such action appears necessary in order to prevent undue diversion from scheduled services." The government isn't going to walk away from the big companies. But if the non-affinity charter proves an enormous success, why should Pan Am and TWA be shielded from competition? They can fly charters, too. It's difficult to believe there isn't enough business to support a company with regular flights *and* cut-rate charters, which is what either Pan Am or TWA could become. The airlines should be willing to revise routes and fares and cut back on luxuries if the public really prefers the inconvenience of charters to the cost of the present scheduled system.

Eliot Marshall

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More, More, More Weapons

by Herbert Scoville, Jr.

Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, warned Congress on February 16 that unless an "effective" US-USSR agreement limiting the nuclear weapons build-up is reached soon, the US must get new weapons quickly or risk the "possibility" of losing "overall strategic superiority . . . within this decade." The "mere appearance of Soviet strategic superiority could have a debilitating effect," he said, "even if that superiority would have no practical effect on the outcome of an all-out nuclear exchange" – The Editors

In 1971 the Institute for Strategic Studies estimated that the US had 6000 nuclear warheads fitted to delivery vehicles that could reach the USSR, and that 2000 Soviet warheads could strike at the continental United States. In the United States, there are 150 population centers with more than a hundred thousand persons each. In the USSR, there are about 175. The United States could overkill the population-industrial centers of the Soviet Union, 34 times, and the Soviets could destroy comparable centers in the United States 13 times over. So, who is ahead, the Soviet Union or the United States, with respect to nuclear military power? If the US and the USSR were to exchange their strategic forces, would it make any military difference?" – Seymour Melman

In his State of the World message, February 9, the President defended our Safeguard ABM program by saying: "The Soviet strategic forces, *even at current levels*, have the potential of threatening our land-based ICBMs if the Soviets choose to make certain qualitative improvements. They have the necessary technological base." What Mr. Nixon and Secretary of Defense Laird mean is that present Soviet ICBM force, about 300 of the large SS-9 type missiles, would be capable, when equipped with sufficient, accurate MIRVs (multiple warheads capable of being aimed at separate targets), of destroying a large fraction of our Minuteman ICBMs. While the Russians have not yet tested a true MIRV system, there is no doubt that they have the technological ability to do so at any time, and could begin deploying such weapons a few years later. Each SS-9 can deliver six or more MIRVs, the number required if 300 SS-9s are to be considered a threat to the Minuteman force. About these facts there is little argument. But why has the administration ignored them until now? Why has it instead concentrated its entire attention not on a large Soviet MIRV capability but on the number of large SS-9 type missile launchers?

In 1969, when President Nixon first made the decision to go ahead with the Safeguard ABM, Secretary Laird used as a primary justification the rapid buildup of the Soviet SS-9 force, which he believed was evidence of Soviet desire to acquire a "first strike" capability. He postulated that with a continuing construction rate of about 50 missiles a year, the Russians could have about 450 SS-9s operational before 1975, and that with each equipped with three MIRVs, they would be able to knock out in a first strike 95 percent of our Minuteman force. This calculation of three MIRVs per missile was selected because since 1968 the Soviets had been testing SS-9 missiles with three reentry vehicles and Mr. Nixon and the Defense Department, despite reservations by many intelligence analysts, chose to describe this system having a "footprint" or impact pattern which could threaten our Minuteman. Had they selected an as yet untested MIRV system, the timing of the Russian threat would have been delayed several years and the Safeguard ABM would have been harder to justify. Now Secretary Laird in his 1973 Annual Defense Dept. Report states that "with significant qualitative improvements [MIRVs] in Soviet ICBMs *even without increases* in the number of Soviet ICBMs, the postulated threat to Minuteman in the last half of the 1970s could grow to a level beyond the capabilities of the four site Safeguard defense of Minuteman. Therefore we propose a FY1973 Hardsite [ABM] program. . . . "

As the ABM debate intensified, the preoccupation with the number of Soviet SS-9 launchers became a key factor in all US strategic planning. The projected SS-9 buildup has profoundly influenced the US position at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). A halt to the Soviet SS-9 launcher program became the cardinal objective of our negotiators. Since the Safeguard ABM had been justified as a counter to the Soviet SS-9 threat, the US could not agree to limiting ABMs without at the same time stopping the SS-9 program. In fact, for the past two years, the Safeguard ABM has been and is still defended in Congress primarily as a bargaining chip in the SALT negotiations. In December 1970 when the Soviets proposed an ABM

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limitation as a first step, President Nixon said no, insisting that limits must be placed on both offensive and defensive weapons in order to preserve stability. Progress in this area was thus delayed for more than a year. In the meantime, both the Russians and the Americans increased the size of their strategic forces.

While all attention was focused on the number of SS-9 launchers, the administration during the entire three years of SALT made no serious attempt to limit MIRVs. Although Senator Brooke in 1969 urged a moratorium on MIRV testing and deployment on both sides, this idea was discouraged by the executive branch. A year later, the Senate passed by 72 to 6 a somewhat watered-down version of the Brooke resolution (S-211) which, nevertheless, had the clear intent of urging restraint on MIRVs. This, too, was ignored; instead the US went rushing ahead with the initial deployment of MIRVs on both the Minuteman and Poseidon missiles, long before security required them. The only concession to Congress was an undertaking by Secretary Laird to halt a program to improve the *accuracy* of US MIRVs. Even the sincerity of this action has come into question as the administration, each year, has sought more than $100 million for the development of improved missile guidance systems.

At SALT, the United States made one attempt for the record to interest the Russians in MIRV controls, but this was coupled with a requirement for onsite inspection that was obviously unacceptable and provided little increased protection against possible violations. This position was put forth despite reported contrary recommendations by the President's prestigious Arms Control General Advisory Committee.

Meanwhile, what happened to the threat which Secretary Laird postulated as evidence of Soviet intentions to acquire a capability to launch a first strike against the US? The Soviet SS-9 construction program slowed markedly. From August 1969 to May 1970 no construction of new launchers was observed. Then in the spring of 1970, just when the administration was arguing most vociferously for its Safeguard ABM as a SALT bargaining chip, the construction of a small number of new Soviet launchers was observed. Even this was cut back until the winter of 1971, when construction of a new type of large launcher was spotted. Despite initial panic, only about 30 of these were started during the past year, so that the number of large Soviet ICBM launchers operational and under construction is now little more than 300, a small increase above the "over 275" reported as of August 1969. This increase of about 30 in more than two-and-a-half years should be compared to 50 per year predicted in justifying the Safeguard ABM. It is clear that the predicted 450 large Soviet missile launchers will not be operational until long after 1975 and probably never. It is rumored that the Soviets have agreed to place a ceiling on such large launchers as part of a Phase I SALT agreement to be announced in May.

The Soviet MIRV program has also not come to pass. The administration fear, that the missile tested with three reentry vehicles could threaten Minuteman, proved to be only another false alarm. The Russians now have tested systems for dispersing three warheads from both the SS-9 and more recently the SS-11, but neither is believed capable of attacking Minuteman. Secretary Laird himself notes that "the Soviets probably have not tested MIRVed missiles thus far. The last multiple reentry vehicle [not MIRV] tests were in late 1970." General Ryan, chief of staff of the air force, testified a year ago that the Russians would have to develop an entirely new reentry vehicle and guidance system before they could achieve such a capability. Rather than expending their technological efforts on a system for dispersing three MIRVs, it is most likely that the Soviets will, when they move into this area, go directly to one which will disperse six or more. It was such a system that the opponents of the Safeguard ABM and the proponents of a MIRV moratorium always argued was the real threat to our Minuteman force. It is to such a system that Mr. Nixon referred in his State of the World message.

Thus, we have come full circle in our strategic policies. By this May, a limitation on the number of large Soviet launchers will probably have been achieved at SALT, in exchange for foregoing the Safeguard ABM. But it is apparent that we have been aiming at the wrong target, for President Nixon and Secretary Laird now admit that Soviet strategic forces, *even at current levels*, can threaten our landbased ICBMs. We have been trapped in a blind alley. The problem today, as it always has been, is to stop MIRVs so that these potentially destabilizing weapons do not become a part of the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

Unfortunately, time has moved on and it is probably too late to achieve the desired controls. Technically, it would still be possible to verify a MIRV test and deployment ban, since the Russians have not yet developed and tested a true MIRV system. Such testing would be readily apparent to US information gathering systems without requiring any onsite inspections. The US, however, *has* developed, tested and deployed two MIRV systems, and it is most improbable that the Russians will agree to forego the MIRV option completely and leave the US so far in the lead. The administration, which has disregarded all attempts to exercise restraint in this area, is unlikely to cut-back or even stop our MIRV programs.

President Nixon has recognized the consequences. He announces: "We are also initiating a program at a time of increasing threat to our landbased missiles." With these words and with the request for nearly $1 billion for a new generation submarine missile sys-

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tem – ULMS – he and Secretary Laird are starting us off on a new lap in the arms race. Is it really necessary? True, the Soviets are building up their submarine missile forces to a point where, within a few years, they will have achieved numerical parity. But their submarine systems are at least one generation behind ours, so that even if it were a question of maintaining US superiority, a posture which the President professes to have eschewed in favor of sufficiency, there would be no need for this new program.

More importantly, our present Polaris-Poseidon system is faced with no threat that requires the replacement or the addition of more submarines. When the Poseidon conversion is completed in the mid-'70s, the US will have a submarine fleet of 31 ships, each capable of firing 160 warheads at the Soviet Union, in addition to 10 of the older Polaris submarines which are about on a par with the present Soviet Y-class vessels. All defense authorities agree that there is no anti-submarine threat that could in the foreseeable future negate this deterrent. Surely the 5000 warheads, each of which is several times greater than the Hiroshima bomb, should be sufficient to deter a Soviet first strike, even if our Minuteman force became vulnerable. With an ABM treaty, which President Nixon states may soon be completed, virtually all of these warheads should be able to penetrate to Russian targets.

We will have made major progress if we get an ABM treaty. Let us build on that to obtain additional limitations rather than trigger a race in a new direction. Even if the Soviets continue to expand their submarine force beyond our levels, we should not allow this to panic us into deploying a new system. There is no reason why we have to be two laps ahead of the Soviet Union. Better to maintain flexibility by continuing research and development on a broad range of possible systems in order to be in the best position to cope with a threat, if it should arise in the long-range future. We have wasted three years tilting with the SS-9 launcher windmill. It is time that we realistically evaluate our security requirements and ask ourselves whether still more strategic nuclear weapons, of still greater sophistication, are needed to deter a nuclear attack or to prevent us and our allies from being blackmailed.

Forward or Reverse?

Busing in Perspective

by Walter F. Mondale

School desegregation is a fact of American educational life. The law of the land is clear, and it will not change. Officially imposed school segregation – whether the result of state law or covert policy – must be overcome. A unanimous Supreme Court resolved any lingering doubts last April with Chief Justice Burger's decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg*. A racial balance is not required. All-white or all-black schools may remain after all reasonable steps have been taken. But every reasonable effort must be made to overcome the results of officially approved school segregation: "School authorities should make every effort to achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation . . . ." And reasonable transportation will be required where necessary to defeat the results of racially discriminatory student assignment policies." . . . We find no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation. Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school."

There has been legitimate criticism of the process of school desegregation: court orders have at times been arbitrary; student transportation has in a few cases worked unnecessary hardships; some federal administrators have been overbearing and rigid. There are other equally legitimate criticisms which we have heard less often: thousands of qualified black teachers and administrators have been demoted or dismissed; black children have been subjected to abuse by fellow students, by teachers and by school administrators; the wealthy have fled to suburbs or placed their children in private schools, so that desegregation has affected only the poor.

But we will not answer these criticisms by refusing the federal support needed to make school desegregation educationally successful, or by withdrawing the federal government from enforcement of the 14th Amendment. The choice is not between blind acceptance of "massive busing for racial balance" or total rejection of support for any transportation to achieve

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school desegregation. Busing is one means – and at times the only means – by which segregation in public education can be reduced. In itself, busing can be either helpful or harmful. It can be the safest, most reasonable way for children to reach integrated schools of high quality. Or it can be used to uproot stable communities and destroy the one chance that parents have to provide the best for their children.

Like the President, I do not support "unnecessary transportation to achieve an arbitrary racial balance," and none of the hundreds of educators with whom I have talked in the past two years supports this kind of effort. The Supreme Court has made it very clear that busing will be required only where it is reasonable and does not place undue burdens on school children: "Busing will not be allowed to significantly impinge on the educational process." Thus, educationally advantaged students should not be bused to schools where they will be overwhelmed by a majority of students from the poorest and most disadvantaged backgrounds. All the evidence we have collected indicates that this kind of "desegregation" helps no one at all.

But if we bar the use of reasonable transportation as one tool for achieving desegregation, we will set in concrete much school segregation which is the clear and direct product of intentional government policy – segregation which would not exist if racially neutral policies had been followed.

In South Holland, Illinois, for instance, a US district court found public agencies deeply involved in fostering school segregation. The schools were located in the center rather than at the boundaries of segregated residential areas in order to achieve school segregation. School assignment policies were adopted under which black children living nearer to white schools attended black schools, and white children living nearer to black schools attended white schools. School buses were used to transport students out of their "neighborhoods" in order to achieve segregation. Finally, teachers were assigned on a racial basis. If transportation to achieve desegregation is prohibited, public school segregation in South Holland will continue.

The courts have found virtually identical conditions in Norfolk, Virginia; Pasadena, California; Charlotte, North Carolina; Denver, Colorado and countless other communities.

Contrary to popular impression, courts have not generally ordered excessive busing or engaged in indiscriminate "racial balancing." The proportion of children riding buses to school in the Deep South is less than three percent above the national average, and barely seven percent above the average for the northern and western states. Recent HEW studies show that aggregate busing has not increased as a result of desegregation. In Louisiana and Florida, although the total number of students bused has increased, the average distance traveled has increased substantially. And in the South's 25 largest school districts this year, 33 percent of the total black enrollment attend virtually all-black schools. This hardly indicates overzealous "racial balancing."

For nearly two years, I have served as Chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity in the Senate. It has been a painful two years, and I am left with a deep conviction that American education is failing children who are born black, brown or simply poor. In Hartford, Connecticut, the median IQ level of black elementary school students is perilously close to eligibility for special schools for the mentally retarded; in rural Appalachia, fewer than 50 of every 100 fifth graders graduate from high school; in New York City, the dropout rate of Puerto Rican children between grades 10 and 12 is 56.7 percent; 50 percent of American Indian students never complete high school.

What are we to do? Those who want us to abandon school integration. They say all our energies should be devoted to improving the quality of education in racially and economically isolated schools. They rightly point out that thousands of children attend schools that will not be integrated – racially or economically – in the next decade, and that ways must be found to provide better education in schools serving only the disadvantaged. But we have not found those ways! With few exceptions, an annual federal investment of $1.5 billion in "compensatory" education has little perceptible impact on mounting educational disadvantage. We must increase our efforts, but success is far from certain. At the same time, we cannot afford to abandon other hopeful approaches. *And it has been demonstrated that integrated education – sensitively conducted and with community support – can be better education for all children, white as well as black, rich as well as poor.* It has been tried and is working.

Nearly 1000 minority group students, selected on a random basis, are bused each day from the Hartford, Connecticut ghetto to suburban schools, as part of Project Concern. Extensive testing of these children since the inception of the project in 1966 shows that time spent in the suburban schools has a dramatic impact on achievement. Fifth graders who have been in the program two years are five months ahead of those who have been in the project only one year. Those who have spent three years in the project in turn scored another four months ahead of the two-year group or a full academic year ahead of the first group. The chances for a significant gain in basic reading and arithmetic skills have been increased threefold. In Berkeley, California, where a major effort has been made to record the educational impact of integration, average achievement of black students increased by 60 percent while the achievement rate for white

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students also rose. Similar results emerge from less comprehensive testing programs in Sacramento, California, and White Plains and Rochester, New York.

Hoke County is a small rural community of 18,000 in eastern North Carolina. Its schools serve 4850 children: 50 percent black, 35 percent white and 15 percent Lumbee Indian. The county had separate schools and classes for each group and a triple transportation system. Then in 1968 and 1969, Hoke County established a unitary system under which each school reflected the county-wide population distribution. They didn't just mix the children together and forget them once they entered the schoolhouse door. They tested every child to determine his level of achievement and took account of the low achieving students' special needs. They made sure that no teachers or principals were displaced or demoted – in fact, Indian and black personnel were promoted. They talked with fearful parents and counseled apprehensive students; they integrated all extracurricular activities so that every school-sponsored organization had representatives of all races in both its membership and its leadership.

Here's a school system which is 65 percent minority and it's making integration work. How? By being human about it and by focusing on what happens at the end of the bus ride. Before integration, white sixth graders were a year ahead of their Indian and black counterparts. By 12th grade the gap was two full years. At the end of the first year of integration, white students continued to progress as before. Black students gained a year and a half; their rate of achievement was more than 50 percent better than before. Could this have happened without integration? The superintendent thought not: "I don't think it would ever happen," he said, "if we kept the schools segregated and kept pouring in money for compensatory education in segregated schools. But I believe in an integrated system that we will eventually work it out."

The Hoke County children ride to school on buses 15 fewer minutes each day to integrated schools than they did under the segregated school system. The five-member local school board provided the kind of positive leadership necessary to make integration successful. It never reneged, publicly or privately, on its commitment to integration and it was reelected. The candidate who thought the system moved too fast toward integration finished last in a field of nine candidates.

Hoke County is not unique. Nor is Berkeley, California, the largest city in the nation to integrate its entire school system voluntarily. Berkeley is 45 percent white, 44 percent black and 11 percent Asian and Spanish-surnamed. Its schools were integrated more than three years ago, and they are building a quality, integrated system, because everyone is involved. Anglo youngsters' achievement rates are accelerating and those that are growing the fastest are those of students who have been in integrated classes longest. White third graders who have been in integrated classes for two years gained four months over those third graders who have been in integrated classes for one year. At the same time, black student achievement has increased from half to eight-tenths of a year's growth per year.

Berkeley is a university town with a high tax base, well above average in per pupil expenditure. Baldwin, Michigan on the other hand has a low tax base, a low per pupil expenditure, a school operating budget deficit of $100,000 a year and dismally low achievement levels. Its schools are the second worst academically in Michigan. Twelve percent of Baldwin's working force is unemployed; 40 percent of its families have incomes under $3000 per year; 53 percent of its people have less than nine years of formal education. Baldwin has its problems. But "busing" and "racial balance" are not among them. Every child is in an integrated class. More than 80 percent of its 1041 students are bused. Some students board their buses as early as 7 a.m. and travel 60 miles to arrive at school at 8:20. The shortest one-way bus ride in this 370 square mile school district is 20 miles. The superintendent told our select committee: "We are proud of the fact that we are an integrated school system. In fact this year during our football season we came up with a little pin that really exemplifies what we are talking about. I would like to leave this with you. It says, 'Baldwin has Soul.' "

I asked him whether there was any opposition to busing. He said: "Our neighbors in Cadillac, Ludington, Big Rapids, etc., are pretty shook up over there. They think we are going to bus some of our black children over to their schools. So busing is an issue in Baldwin only as far as our neighbors are concerned."

Let's be candid: busing is the way the overwhelming majority of school children outside our central cities get to school. Twenty million elementary and secondary school children are bused. They rode 256,000 yellow buses 2.2 billion miles last year, at a cost of $1.5 billion. Forty percent of our school children – 65 percent when those riding public transportation are included – ride to school every day for reasons that have nothing at all to do with school desegregation. So the issue is not, to bus or not to bus; it is whether we will build on successful examples to make school desegregation work; whether we will help the courts to avoid educational mistakes – or leave them to face the complexities of school desegregation alone.

And there are complexities. Court-ordered desegregation is costing Pontiac, Michigan $700,000 and Pontiac has had to cut educational programs to meet these costs. The superintendent and chairman of the school board in Dade County, Florida testified last June that, "The financial impact of desegregation is placing severe demands and burdens on the affected school systems." School desegregation in Dade County, which has a $250-million school budget, cost an

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additional $1.5 million in just six months. Additional transportation is costing $670,000 a year. Pasadena, California is spending $300,000 in Federal Aid for Impacted Areas which would otherwise be used for instructional programs. Pasadena is implementing a federal desegregation court order. In Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, which is desegregating under state administrative procedures, additional transportation expenses are more than $500,000 a year. Harrisburg has had to cut additional programs to pay for busing. In Nashville, Tenn., because of an inadequate number of schools buses, opening times for schools have been staggered so that some children start school as early as 7:00 a.m., and others arrive home after dark. The inconvenience this has caused threatens public support for education in Nashville.

And yet . . . the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has refused to allow expenditures of any of the $65 million in emergency desegregation funds appropriated by Congress this year to support transportation.

No one has suggested that every school can – or should – be integrated tomorrow. No one is requiring that. Segregated schools remain in Atlanta under federal court order; segregated schools will continue in the great urban centers of the North despite our best efforts. But if we abandon support for school integration where it can be accomplished, if we refuse to support the essential remedy, which busing so often is, and if we destroy the public goodwill necessary to make desegregation successful once it has taken place – we will work tragic harm. We're at a crossroads. School desegregation in the South is largely completed. But we from the North are now beginning to feel the pressure to abandon the course set by the 14th Amendment. If we do, in the name of anti-busing, we will deal a blow to public education in the North and in the South from which it may never recover.

One Week Before the First Primary

Sizing Up New Hampshire

by Paul R. Wieck

Manchester, N.H.

If you ask a New Hampshire voter how he feels about a certain candidate, he's apt to reply, happily: "I don't know. I haven't met him yet." But he expects to, thus introducing a note of caution into speculation on the outcome of a race in which two men – President Nixon and Senator Muskie – are rated as clear favorites.

Unlike 1968, New Hampshire voters are enjoying their primary this year – the flood of candidates grabbing for their hands and stopping to chat in restaurants, factories and supermarkets; the hordes of reporters and three-man camera crews trailing behind; the rash of celebrities invading the state. It's a time for personal judgments such as "TV doesn't do him justice" or "you're a lot taller than you look on TV." This year, it isn't New Hampshire's responsibility to render the first judgment. That is left to Florida.

Unlike Eugene McCarthy in '68, the two peace candidates fighting for survival here – George McGovern and Pete McCloskey – have not gotten the breaks that can set fire to an underdog's campaign. All too often, they find themselves competing for the same votes – the newly enfranchised youth, the growing number of "independents" spilling into southern New Hampshire from the Boston suburbs. Still, both are getting whiffs of sweet success as they move ceaselessly through a small state in which, for all practical purposes, they have taken up residence.

A big concern in every headquarters is the percentages game, a concern that is underscored by a growing resentment that the media have usurped the prerogative of establishing what a winning percentage is for each candidate. I encountered it as soon as I arrived. In a short walk to the McGovern headquarters with Gary Hart, his campaign manager, I heard a long complaint that *The New York Times* had set 51 percent as the figure Muskie needs to claim victory, thus making it imperative for McGovern to hold him under that figure. That evening, a Muskie co-chairman went through an elaborate performance, estimating what percentage of the vote the various other candidates will draw, his purpose being to prove that it's unreasonable to demand that Muskie get 50 percent to "win."

What about the issues, you may ask? McGovern, the man who claims to be putting together an issue-oriented coalition, admitted it's hard to campaign on substantive matters this year. His reason: he can't get

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Muskie to debate them. In fact, he can't get Muskie to stay in the state. Nor, for that matter, can Muskie's managers.

That brings us to the essence of what's happening in the last week before the March 7 primary, namely: Muskie's refusal to debate and the fact that, because he's running in the first eight primaries, he can't spend as much time as he should courting his neighbors in New Hampshire.

McGovern is capitalizing on that and making inroads because of it. The outlook in his camp is best illustrated by a pep talk McGovern gave to a large group of canvassers who'd come in from colleges in the Boston area to ring doorbells for him. He didn't talk about issues, he told about his first election to the Senate by 500-plus votes. That represented one-fifth of a vote per precinct, he told the young canvassers in explaining why he feels nothing is more important than the contacts they'll be making with voters.

McGovern's campaigning over many months has had one salutary effect – he has a very high recognition factor. "I'm Sen. McGovern," he says, drawing the instant reply, "I know, I've seen you on TV."

Muskie isn't an easy target, however. He started out way ahead. Only a few weeks ago, a *Boston Globe* poll gave him 65 percent to 18 percent for McGovern and four percent for Mayor Sam Yorty. In addition, Muskie keeps getting the breaks McGovern needs so badly, breaks that lift him above the crowd of candidates swarming around him. For example, another recent *Globe* poll showed Muskie leading Nixon 48 to 42 percent in New Hampshire, only a point or two off his 49-41 lead of some months ago. The same poll showed McGovern had improved his position but still trailed Nixon 34-52, enough to give any Democrat with visions of party victory next fall pause before deserting the favorite for the challenger. For McGovern, it has to be trying to have such a poll surface as morale is rising and a good showing appears possible.

But the cruelest blow of all was administered by the real enemy – the White House. After years of establishing his antiwar credentials, McGovern was left out in the cold when the administration turned its big guns on Muskie in a highly-publicized, well-orchestrated attack starting with Secretary of State William Rogers' charge that Muskie was undermining the national interest by criticizing the President's latest peace proposal and offering his own substitute. As others joined in the attack – Herb Klein, Attorney General John Mitchell, GOP National Chairman Robert Dole, presidential aide H. R. Haldeman – the Muskie entourage reeled with delight over its good fortune. The Concord *Monitor* in a February 5 editorial put the attack on Muskie in a perspective New Hampshire voters understand: "Casting aspersions on the patriotic motives of those who dare to disagree was a signpost of President Johnson's abortive campaign in New Hampshire four years ago. Then it was Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota who was the target. Then-Gov. John W. King, now a Superior Court Judge, made his famed 'cheers in Hanoi' speech on March 7, 1968, five days before the voting."

The attack coincided with a three-day swing through the state that found Muskie hitting full stride, moving through factories with a presence seldom found among candidates for the nomination. In 1968, Nixon in New Hampshire was remote, fending off the press and appearing only at carefully selected and well-advanced events. Muskie, in contrast, has the bearing of an incumbent. He received a warm response, particularly among the women who work in Manchester's shoe and textile factories. They came forward to greet him, kissed him, put on Muskie buttons, placed bumper stickers on their machines and assured all reporters who bothered to ask that Muskie has "strong support" in their community.

It contrasted somewhat with a friendly but, generally, noncommittal reception McGovern was getting in Manchester's factory district the same day. In the wake of a McGovern tour, workers tended to tell reporters most people were "undecided," waiting to see. One was tempted to conclude in mid-February that it was really "undecided for Muskie."

The barrage of criticism from the administration put some passion in Muskie's rhetoric for the first time since President Nixon accused him of libeling the voters by telling a closed caucus of black leaders that he doesn't think the country is ready to vote for a black vice president. Two weeks ago, Muskie took the offensive in a series of speeches before high school audiences, his voice often tinged with emotion as he spoke of the right to speak out and the responsibilities that go with it. At one Manchester high school, he devoted his entire talk to that theme, recounting with quote after quote past statements by Nixon that might have been construed in the same way, remarks made from 1965 to 1969, when Nixon was carrying the banner for the GOP. Reporters covering appearances by both Muskie and McGovern in Manchester area high schools observed that Muskie received as good and, at times, better responses from his teenage audiences as McGovern. It gave some credence to the claim of Muskie's managers that the McGovern claim he has the youth vote is "a myth."

Despite the obvious advantages enjoyed by Muskie – he's from neighboring Maine, he's been thrown into the spotlight by the administration, he leads in the polls with all that means to party regulars anxious to find a winner – his managers are nervous about the outcome. The voters are in a mood to be wooed this year, but Muskie, committed to a national strategy of winning the first eight primaries and wrapping up the nomination before the fratricide gets out of hand, hasn't been able to spend that much time with his neighbors. His managers blocked off the last week for

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New Hampshire hoping it was enough time to reverse any serious slippage; however, the nervousness increased and Muskie's New Hampshire man insisted he come in for an extra day in late February. Still, his managers claim they'll have to fight for 50 percent in a six-man field and say they expect their candidate to lose some ground before he gets back into the state for the final days of campaigning.

One should not underestimate the efficiency and commitment of the organization McGovern has built up, nor his prospects of picking up substantial new support as he goes through the state, hand-by-hand. He's using every tactic at his command. For example, a young housewife (a volunteer) accompanies McGovern everywhere, camera in hand, to snap instant pictures of the candidate with every third or fourth voter. The pictures are then presented to the voter. Often, McGovern is asked to autograph them. The reaction of one middle-aged couple who found themselves with picture in hand in Bedford Mall shopping center may be typical: they're Democrats who voted for Johnson in 1968 and were leaning to Muskie. But, with smiles on their faces as they looked at the picture of themselves with McGovern, they confessed they were now leaning to the South Dakotan and thought he had a good chance of winning because he's out meeting the people. If canvassing is a critical factor, the McGovern people will probably outwork their Muskie adversaries. By mid-February, up to 500 students were being bused in each weekend. A fairly large contingent has come for the duration.

There's a stridency in the McGovern operation, a tendency to strike out at opponents who are draining off potential votes. McGovern was the first man to enter the 1972 presidential race, a move he obviously hoped would shut out rivals on the liberal-left. But in New Hampshire he's getting strong competition from Paul McCloskey, who's pulling away precious independent votes. And across the country, Mayor John Lindsay of New York is moving in fast.

McGovern's pique is not always hidden. After a visit to a restaurant in Concord, he commented that had he been Lindsay, he'd have made the network news that night eating an ice cream cone. Time and again, McGovern points out McCloskey is good on the war but has "an 80 percent record of supporting the Nixon administration on other issues." Actually, he's lately drifted away from the administration (he voted against SST and the Lockheed loan, for example).

Of all the campaigns here, McCloskey's has the most romantic appeal. Out of funds, uncertain of what will happen after March 7, he continues to criss-cross the state backed up by a small but dedicated band. He hits the Nixon administration for its war policies, its secrecy and intimidation. Speaking in conversational tones, often before small groups gathered for coffee and cookies in a living room, McCloskey spares no detail in explaining why he feels the administration is "not just the most secretive we've had but the most repressive against those who criticize them." He promises to "smash at this until March 7." Beyond that McCloskey doesn't know.

To explain why a vote for him wouldn't be wasted, McCloskey notes that Nixon "reacts to political pressure" and claims that if he can get up to 25 to 30 percent of the vote Nixon would know he can't win in November without changing his policies.

McCloskey has penetrated the infrastructure of the GOP in New Hampshire to a surprising degree, often enlisting the most prominent attorneys or plant managers in a community. But the real secret of his appeal, like McGovern's, is with the independent vote. For months, McCloskey was accorded an edge there, particularly with students; however, McGovern's larger and more efficient campaign organization may be taking its toll.

The McCloskey people have been disappointed by the campaign of Rep. John Ashbrook (R, Ohio), the rightist candidate. McCloskey was clearly hoping for a massive assault from the right which, together with McCloskey's inroads on the left, could squeeze Nixon's take far below the 80 percent some Nixonites have been predicting. But the Ashbrook campaign hasn't got off the front pages into the precincts.

In like manner, the concern of the McGovern and Muskie campaigns over the Mayor Sam Yorty threat was diminishing by mid-February, despite a daily pro-Yorty broadside courtesy of Loeb's Manchester *Union-Guardian*. The Loeb paper's favorite tactic seems to be to run a picture of Yorty holding a gun, with a caption explaining he's a lifetime member of the National Rifle Association (NRA). Despite Loeb's support, Yorty doesn't seem to be going anywhere.

An unknown quantity is the heavily financed write-in campaign for Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D, Ark.) of the House Ways and Means Committee, and the full-time campaigning of Sen. Vance Hartke (D, Ind.), both of whom have enlisted supporters with some influence and will poll some votes. One gets the feeling, however, that it isn't important to figure out how many or why, since this is essentially a Muskie-McGovern fight.

Nothing under 50 percent would really be convincing for Muskie, despite the poor-mouthing in his headquarters. His staff knows this and is worried lest their man stumble – stumble, not fall. It would cast a pall over Muskie's Florida battle, where first place by any percentage count would be heralded as a great victory, and over Wisconsin, where Muskie can fall well below 50 percent and still be counted a winner.

For McGovern, something between 30 and 35 percent is probably needed if he's to hold off the wolves after Florida, where he might not make it into the top five in an 11-man field.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Cabaret

(Allied Artists)

The Nightcomers

(Avco Embassy)

Bartleby

(Maron)

The changes in Sally Bowles are the stuff of cultural history. Originally she was the title character of a story in Christopher Isherwood's *Goodbye to Berlin* (1939); then she was in John van Druten's dramatization, called *I Am a Camera* (1951), which was filmed (1955); then she was in the musical version of the play, *Cabaret* (1966); and now that musical is on the screen. Not to detail all the changes en route, she began as a bed-free English girl of good family, a quite conscious Noel Coward high-stepper of the late '20s in the boiling Berlin of the early '30s, a frenzied hedonist by choice, deliberately ignoring the dark political environment of her cabaret-performing life. In this latest embodiment, she is American, much more like a cabaret star than a mere performer, and she sleeps around like mad because she's in love with her diplomat father who rejects her. When she became American, she had to be "explained," and the explanation had to be Freudian.

The changes in the narrator are revealing, too. He began as Isherwood, the "camera," which he remained in the play. His role as observer was itself part of the theme. His warm nonsexual friendship with Sally gave the story a poignant *Bruderschaft*; the tacit homosexual reason for it underscored the disjunctures of the time. In the musical, his name was changed, and he shifted from "camera" to activist, a young hero who had an affair with Sally. Doomed affair, of course, but only by romantic declension. This change hurt the original idea very much; it battered a unique and crystallizing story into one more set of heart-tugs. Now, the screenplay by Jay Allen, sleek butcher of *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, trades on the New Liberation of film. The hero still has his affair with Sally but also has a homosexual fling with one of her lovers! Thus the script gobbles up all stages of the story's changes and makes the hero all things to all men – and women.

The Isherwood original is incomparably the best; but the film musical is very much better than the stage musical, is much better cast than it was on Broadway, and uses the political atmosphere as much more than a first-act curtain.

Bob Fosse, who directed, is a justly celebrated choreographer and musical director in the theater, and did one previous film, *Sweet Charity*. (I missed it.) He has handled *Cabaret* like a smart Broadway musical director: always bright, always intent – not on authenticity – on keeping one step ahead of the audience's possible jadedness. He can do it. He whips along from one clever camera angle to another, with a fusillade of "shock" lighting effects. (Camera work by Geoffrey Unsworth of *2001*.) Film journals will feast for years on shots from this picture; as it rolled along, I saw page after illustrated page from a not-too-distant book called *The Cinema of Bob Fosse*.

When the curtain went up on the Broadway show, the audience saw themselves in a huge mirror. Fosse adapts this device here, opening (and closing) with a mirror in which the Berlin cabaret audience see themselves. Unlike the Broadway version, the musical elements are split off from the rest: almost all the songs occur on the cabaret stage, the rest of the picture is "straight." I suppose this is in aid of realism, but it doesn't quite succeed. First, as usual in movie musicals, the numbers are much too lavish and complex for the place in which they're supposed to be done. Second, Fosse is much more comfortable with the musical numbers than with "life." But one clever nonnumber is more than clever. A sequence in a country beer-garden begins with a close-up of an appealing youth singing a pleasant *heimisch* song. Slowly the camera pulls back and reveals his Nazi armband. The refrain becomes fervent, the camera keeps pulling back, more and more people join the Nazi fervor, and what started out as schmaltz ends as scare. Overly neat, perhaps, but so is most symbolic action.

Liza Minnelli, the Sally, sings somewhat like her mother Judy Garland and looks somewhat like her father Vincente Minnelli. Apparently there's an industry-wide agreement to make her the Star of Sickdom, to exploit what the public knows of her mother's life, to treat the daughter as a dark-eyed bundle of quick-giggling neurotic heartbreak. In her first starring film *The Sterile Cuckoo*, Minnelli affected me like David Warner in *Morgan*. All my sympathy went to the person who was trying to get away from her; my only impulse was to rush out and call a psychiatric ambulance. Now the Isherwood Sally has been tailored to the Cuckoo image, and the songs have been styled in the Garland manner. It's hard to like or dislike the result. I'm conscious of some talent and a lot of managerial synthesis.

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

Desperate Characters. Best film on this list. About today's ignored subject: the liberal middle class and *their* drama. Kenneth Mars (good) and Shirley Maclaine (OK) as beleaguered husband and wife. Frank D. Gilroy wrote and directed with impressive feeling.

The French Connection. Zow. Also pow. A thrilling thiller, about drugs in Marseilles and New York. Gene Hackman heads a perfect cast, William Friedkin cracks a mean director's whip.

The Hospital. George C. Scott gives guts to Paddy Chayefsky's juicy but jumbled script about merrily macabre medical mix-ups.

The Last Picture Show. Small-town texas, 1951, and a youth's coming-of-age. The tone and intent are rather familiar, but most of the acting is good, and Peter Bogdanovich, the young director, was born to make movies.

Macbeth. Unexpectedly orthodox version by Roman Polanski. Unfulfilled because the Macbeths are slim and the text slashed, but many incidentals, like the witches, are good.

Sunday Bloody Sunday. Included here because of Glenda Jackson's performance and Penelope Gilliatt's dialogue. But the script doesn't do much more than describe characters, in this London hetero-homo triangle. John Schlesinger directs wetly.

SK

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Sedulus on TV

1983

This is 1983. President Agnew has been in office for six years and gives a fireside chat for an hour of prime time every Thursday. Otherwise life in America is much the same. The bus line in the District of Columbia is still in the hands of Roy Chalk, who has cut the service in half and claims that he will be insolvent in ten days if the fare is not raised to $3.75. The dollar is worth seven cents on the 1972 scale in an average food market. The minimum wage is only $2.50, though the poverty level has been raised statistically to $20,000 a year, with the result that sixty million persons are being fed breakfast by the Black Panthers. Also it is hard to get anything fixed: plumbers for example charge a minimum of $100 a visit, and it costs three times as much to install an air conditioner as to buy one. Not that many people are buying air conditioners; power companies shut down at noon on hot days. But President Agnew has declared that the water ration must be doubled on hot days, so it comes out even and everybody is content except on *cold* days, when the oil, gas, wood and power shortages drive most people back under covers.

Our troop commitment to Indochina was as low as 70,000 for two years in the early '70s when the air force was experimentally "curtain" bombing the Vietnam and Laotian borders night and day ("curtain" bombing was devised by Major General Curtain in 1973), but when the VC successfully dug under the Curtain we were obliged to double our commitment again, and then redouble it. Since 1978 the war has been stable and President Agnew predicts that it will remain so, though some 1,500,000 doubters are penned up in open stockades in North Dakota.

Walking along an average American street in 1983 offers little novelty to anyone over forty. Most store windows are boarded up. Sidewalks are safe to walk on at noon and the rates for all kinds of crime except disloyalty are up only slightly (the new federal gun law makes it a misdemeanor for anyone under 14 to be in possession of firearms without parental permission). Newsstands are emptier, girlie magazines having been banned, but only the aged miss *The New York Times* whose editors were hung for sedition after a six-year trial. Movie houses are closed but their marquees still look lively with their constantly changing advertisements for joining the Marine Corps. Doctors' offices are still filled with Muzak, but in most of them the secretary requires a $20 deposit from each patient before he may sit in the waiting room.

The average American automobile is no longer powered by a gasoline combustion engine but by an atomic-powered steam engine perfected by Ford in 1976. Shielding made the motor an extremely heavy device in the early models, but now a standard 900 hp model weighs no more than its much less powerful gasoline counterpart, and takes about the same space. A car is refueled once a year, then sealed and locked; nothing can go wrong with it, it has never been known to explode or turn into a cloud, and in seven years it has virtually replaced the gasoline car, a fact that delighted ecologists, conservationists and concerned citizens until only a few months ago when an outbreak of an odd kind of viral pneumonia in New York City during a muggy period was traced to invisible exhalations from what is known as the hot-coil system of the car, necessitating instant banning of all atomic models from the roads of America until further notice. Gasoline cars have been reduced in numbers by 90 percent since the late '70s, and it is now difficult to buy gasoline even if you have a car; so people are walking mostly.

I might add that no books are being published but that is of little consequence because there are, in 1983, in the average American town, 58 available TV channels of which two are classified as educational and have programs against the War, the middle class, the profit motive, pollution, poverty, malnutrition, inadequate medical care, inequitable taxation, segregation, deceptive advertising, high interest rates, shoddy merchandise and bad schools; all such subversive matter is preceded by a statement, required by law, to the effect that what follows is the truth the whole truth and nothing but the truth, that it doesn't necessarily represent the views of the station and may be hazardous to health. Regular TV in the meantime is going well: the number of commercials per hour has been doubled, unnecessary regulations hedging in advertisers having been abolished, and cartoons are available 19 hours a day. NBC has taken over financial control of the major baseball and football leagues, CBS owns Hollywood and golf and ABC, and the enormous CATV conglomerate that blossomed in the late '70s has become a part of the AT&T-ITT complex. In short, things are going a lot better than some of the pessimists imagined. Meanwhile there *have* been unpleasant reports of the state of mind of regular tube viewers. A characteristic case was reported by a young social worker in Chicago who was canvassing a block near the University for a computerized social science firm. She knocked at the half-open door of a third-floor apartment, and when no one replied she looked in and saw, behind the door and seated in such a way as to be looking directly at the door, a small plain female of uncertain age with *TV Guide* in her lap. The social worker apologized for the intrusion and asked the woman timidly if she had voted in the last election. No answer. Did she know what the Electoral College was? No answer. Would she say that there were more or less Republicans than Democrats in her building? Did she approve of Vietnamization? Did she share bathroom facilities with another family? Had she moved her place of residence in the last year? Did she believe in national health insurance? Did she plan to watch the upcoming elections on TV? – To none of these questions did the woman reply, but when TV was mentioned she began to thumb through her *TV Guide*. The social worker, now noticing that the woman's TV set was behind the door, realized that the woman had mistaken her for a program. The following conversation ensued:

Social Worker: I'm not on TV, Ma'am. I'm conducting a survey.

Woman: If you are real why are you asking such questions?

SW: I represent . . . [and here the SW supplied the name of her firm].

W: Are you sure you aren't on Channel 11?

SW: I have nothing to do with Channel 11.

W: Then you must be real. Could you take me somewhere where there are real people?

Needless to say the social worker took the woman to a psychiatric clinic where her case was treated with the latest group-therapy techniques. These have proved effective in combatting TV withdrawal, and in six months the

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woman had been rehabilitated though the doctors warned her against ever watching TV again.

The new Center for Audio Visual Diseases in Houston estimates that at least 10,000 new cases of TV withdrawal are now developing annually, and while this figure indicates that the disease is still a long way from reaching epidemic proportions its presence has become a matter of national concern. Dr. Edmund (Ben) Casey of the Houston Center has recommended three basic steps: 1) that all TV stations be required to go off the air simultaneously for five minutes each hour; 2) that information about simple home remedies for "TV fix" be widely disseminated – rolling the eyes to the window for example, or playing "lookie-feelie" with a fellow sufferer; and 3) that the schools institute a program in the primary grades to develop children's awareness of the three-dimensional world. Dr. Casey says that at present there is no cause for alarm, but he does caution against the large-scale development and production of whole-wall TV, an invention now being pushed by some of the larger manufacturers. . . .

Scraping the Bottom of the Roethke Barrel

Straw for the Fire: From the Notebooks of Theodore Roethke, 1943-1963 Selected and arranged by David Wagoner

(Doubleday; $7.95)

"A culture in which it is easier to publish a book about poetry than a book of poems," says one of Roethke's notes. But Roethke was fortunate in publication and could have no complaint about his eventual recognition as poet. He swept the board of literary honors and even had his eye on "the Swedish prize." In this he was presumptuous, for he was a poet of conscious limitations and slight range, though one whose limitations shielded him from cant and spared him wasteful effort. His strength was narrowness. He pumped his sensibility through narrow pipes and built up a considerable head of steam. He kept his hand upon the throttle of the poem and his eye upon the rail of recognition. He was a success, perhaps even a culture hero.

Roethke, like most good poets, was his own best critic: one doubts that he would have loosed these papers on the public. They add nothing to Roethke, though they subtract little. The editor David Wagoner, poet and disciple of Roethke, writes piously and materialistically of "this prodigious output" of "277 notebooks" which "now occupies twelve horizontal feet of library shelves in the University of . . ." – but what does it matter where they are. The editor is staggered by what he considers to be the immensity of so much unpublished "yet publishable" work. Now they are no longer publishable; they are published, quite a cache of them at least. And eventually, we are led to believe, all 277 of these spiral notebooks will see the light.

The editor has arranged Roethke's fragments of prose and poetry thematically, with the justification that the poet wished to leave many poems in a fragmentary state, "to write nothing but fragments." Whatever chronology exists in the notebooks is deliberately scrambled, thus making a kind of anthology of wrong starts and jottings.

In the culture of modern poetry, that culture which Roethke rightly says would rather print a book about poetry than a book of poems, one can discern a certain trajectory in the poetic career. Following Recognition by the poet's peers, which is really all that matters, there is (1) Cult, (2) Boom, and (3) Racket. Dylan Thomas, for instance, is now in Phase 3, the Racket phase. (There was a recent advertisement of a new Thomas edition for $200 a copy.) Sylvia Plath is in Phase 2, while Roethke is being shunted from 2 to 3. When the Racket is over the poet returns to mere Recognition where, mutatis mutandis, his best poems will be embalmed and treasured up in the best anthologies.

For the rest, these assembled notes and fragments are extraordinarily boring and banal. Not all notebooks are so; not all drafts of poems are so. Honest poet and fellow that he was, Roethke did not pride himself on learning, intellect or greatness of vision. Criticism and scholarship have already treated his poetry with acuity, fairness and general enthusiasm, and the publication of twelve horizontal feet of spiral notebooks is pointless and unworthy of his achievement. After all, in the esthetic mercy of man's heart, the artist is remembered for his best. This eternal prying into the discards of departed writers says nothing, exemplifies nothing, and proves nothing that is not already obvious from the proven work.

There is perhaps a clinical dimension to this book which might justify its existence. In places it reads like a medical report, and for those who know the poet's work it reveals formulas of withdrawal and autism which lie at the heart of Roethke's poetry. The Mother Goose vocabulary of the best poems – mouse, rat, bat, worm, skin, bone, shoe, eating, dog, navel, potato – identifications with John Clare, Christopher Smart, and Blake all point to a planned poetic, the stance of innocence. Roethke, one is convinced, really did achieve this backward state and painfully constructed poetry out of it. That was his achievement, and the whole of it.

Karl Shapiro

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Not Thorazine But Love

Bellevue Is a State of Mind by Anne Barry

(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; $5.95)

Pathways to Madness by Jules Henry

(Random House; $10)

Young and Radcliffe-educated, Anne Barry is a freelance journalist and a New Yorker by way of Boston. The New Englander in her has survived transplantation; hence she attaches herself to causes. In her new book, by no coincidence, she champions another neglected minority – the insane. She admires the author of *Crime and Punishment* and shows a Dostoievskian curiosity about the "insulted and injured." Passing a building that houses Bellevue's psychiatric wards, she had been disturbed more than once by the sight of barred windows. Was it possible, she wondered, to enjoy a feeling of dignity again after being stripped of family, friends, liberty, and even the clothes that affirm identity? To find out she decided to pose as a paranoiac. On a February night in 1969 she was admitted to Bellevue and assigned by a tired, half-amused, half-bored doctor to N7, a psycho ward for women. Also known, for reasons a bit antiquated, as the violent ward.

The General Motors of US hospitals had its start in pre-Revolutionary days. Housing six beds in 1736, the hospital now handles over 60,000 patients a year. Under pressures resembling a belt-and-pulley system, the average mental patient is routed out of Bellevue in a single month. During that time he may experience more tranquility than he ever knew before. Doses of Thorazine four times a day calm his nerves and diminish his energies to the point where he is not only more amiable but seems to fantasize less. Amiability, in fact, was the general rule in N7.

That is not to say that N7 had progressed all the way from violent ward to utopia. Anne Barry had been an abortion counselor and a managing editor of a publishing firm, but these jobs had hardly prepared her. In the beginning she worried about being assaulted because a doctor had intimated that lesbians were a problem in N7. They were not, though frankly visible. To account for so much gentleness among patients whose experiences in slums, brothels, jails, and other institutions should have made them callous, she decided that the overriding force in their relationship was the knowledge that they were prisoners together.

Anne Barry learned to admire the dignity some maintained in the face of contempt. She sympathized with patients like Alvine Foster who resented property as if it were animated evil – maybe because they didn't even own the clothes on their backs. A tiny, intelligent black woman, Mrs. Foster, with unpredictable rages. As on the day she tossed her false teeth and tomato-red wig into the air and used her bare hands to break a TV set. Among the 30-odd patients of N7 several hallucinated. Some were addicts seeking a cure and were astounded that they had been thrown in with "crazy people." Others were obsessed with food, sex, neatness, or the conviction that they were persecuted – like Mrs. Briggs, who phoned her lawyer every day and begged him to get a writ of habeas corpus. Whatever their disorders, Miss Barry thought the patients' good will rather than curbs from above kept the lid on in N7 and that the nurses and aides would have been overpowered had there been all-out rebellion.

It was a life without comforts, trust, books or substantive friendships. She ate so little of N7's bounty that her nails grew brittle. The overheated ward was as unconducive to sleep as a bad conscience. To cure a headache she asked for an aspirin, only to be shooed

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away by a nurse who suspected her of addiction. A sense of helplessness made her react with childish rage against the lordly commands of aides and nurses. Paranoia repeatedly took hold of her and on one occasion she lashed out at a doctor with soft-voiced abuse which understated her anger only because it might have delayed her release. "Are you taking notes on us?" she demanded. " . . . Are we in a zoo for you to watch?"

In her mind's eye is a lovely vision of Bellevue being replaced by a utopian hospital without walls. A bit like a hippie commune. Also akin to R. D. Laing's Kingsley Hall experiment. Doctors, nurses and patients would live as equals here, eating the same food and embodying the Now Generation's passion for sincerity by outlawing politeness except when it was motivated by love.

The late Jules Henry was no apologist for hypocrisy, but his politeness might now be scorned. In his long career as an anthropologist, especially while living with Indian tribes in Argentina and Brazil, he needed every resource of diplomacy. The evidence shows he was a master of the right approach, not only with primitive peoples but with the five American families portrayed in *Pathways to Madness*. How otherwise would he have been admitted to the homes of parents racked with guilt because their children, in each case the oldest son, had been institutionalized for autism (psychotic withdrawal)? With four of these families he spent some 100 hours each, setting a precedent in the intimacy and thoroughness of his investigations.

The grim wisdom of an older man dominates his able, often brilliant, sometimes unnecessarily repetitious examination of embittered family life. I thought of college lecturers I'd sat under and the wit, cynicism, pessimism or hope they had put forth. For example: "The cruel man needs the vulnerable one as the sword needs the flesh. . . . In all cultures the secret of freedom is to adapt body and mind to the bars. . . . A normal person is corrupted in the socially approved ways. . . . My culture clearly permits me to degrade myself – to think of myself as stinking, so that I have to use deodorants, to eat like a pig, etc. – but it will clap me in a lunatic asylum for inappropriate autoelevation. . . . Homo sapiens is dying of success. . . . The infant's weakness is his strength. . . . In tenderness man is beyond himself. . . . The secret of sanity is to exaggerate the good of the world."

The note of pessimism, which sounds stronger than any other in these aphorisms, is repeated on almost every page, for Dr. Henry recognized that like the Pilagá of Argentina and the Kaingáng of Brazil, Americans have their own demons. Gertrude Metz, for instance, was diffuse with kisses and sirupy chatter about loving the whole world. Yet when her son came home from an institution for one of his rare visits, her hostility surfaced. Her nagging was nonstop and the meals she served him were hardly less disagreeable. A similar unconscious hostility – at least a hostility that thought itself safe from detection – ran through the Rosenbergs' relations with their sons Abe and Irving. Abe could read when he was two and word had spread that he was a genius, but his parents' pride in his gifts ran a poor second to their hostility. Once, unnerved by his mother's badgerings, Abe had locked himself in the bathroom and threatened to take his life. At 16 he was in an institution, and Irving, hardly less brilliant and unsettled, was echoing Abe's talk of suicide.

In the case of the Joneses the parents' mutual antagonism never took cover under a pretense of loving kindness. Jones was almost a cartoon-caricature of the Angry Man. He was a dentist, used to a neat office and outraged by his wife's godawful housekeeping. Quietly fighting him, she grew more slovenly as he insisted on neatness and struck at Jones indirectly by handling food in a haphazard way that endangered their children's health.

Mr. Wilson, a lawyer, had had just enough success to sting his mind against those who had more. His ambitions insulated him from his family. In fact, the indifference of both parents toward their first-born had probably been a primary cause of the boy's autism, but it was only Mrs. Wilson who had learned from the anguish of their failure and watched like a hawk over the needs of their second child.

These family tragedies struck Jules Henry as a mirror to a culture which exalts destructive competition and scoffs at tenderness. The gist of his findings is that a home is not a bargaining table or marketplace, that tenderness works better in a family than aggression, and that empathy is the mainspring of the good life – principles that would also be acceptable in Anne Barry's utopia. His own tenderness is

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up for debate when he argues that his scientific training taught him detachment in the face of other men's suffering and enabled him to conduct his experiments as coolly as an "officer watching his men die on the battlefield." Yet *Pathways* remains a deeply humane book that should have a long and honorable life. Another book by him, *On Education*, will appear soon.

James Walt

Reconsideration

The Lonely Crowd

A recent request for a copy of the Yale paperback edition of *The Lonely Crowd*, addressed to an ordinarily reliable book-

The Lonely Crowd
by David Riesman, with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney
Originally published in 1950 by Yale University Press, $10; now available in Yale paperback abridged edition with a new preface, 1961, $2.95.

store, brought this unexpectedly elaborate response:

> It's never pleasant to have to admit to not having a book a customer wants and doubly so in an instance such as this. For the truth is, we don't have that book in stock now. Actually, like all sociological phenomena, *The Lonely Crowd* has given way to its latter-day progeny: *The Greening of America, Future Shock*, et al. Like *Anthony Adverse*, nobody seems to know now why it was so popular. . . . In the light of Keniston, Roszak, Reich, the generation Riesman writes of seems as odd and dated as a Frankie Avalon record.

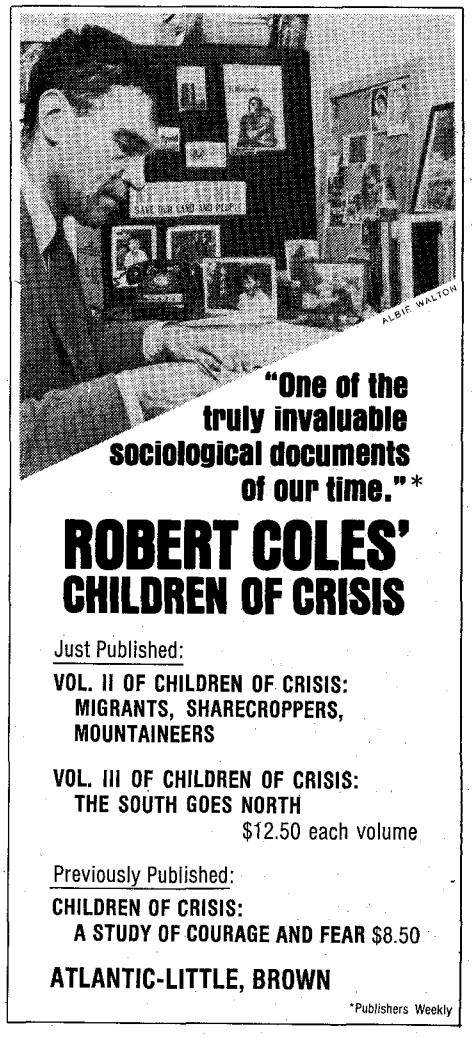
My irritation at finding the book out of stock was exceeded only by my befuddlement at finding it so casually dismissed. To one who came of age, as I did, in the middle-class America of the '50s, *The Lonely Crowd* was an intensely personal document, in which one sought to "find" oneself much as, I imagine, readers of *The Greening of America* think they are "finding" themselves. That the book could be so condescendingly tossed aside by a disciple of Reich was, to put it mildly, disconcerting.

Still, my correspondent's gratuitous comments served a purpose. *The Lonely Crowd* seemed, when I first read it, very much a book of its own time; it spoke quite directly, that is, to the particular and peculiar American climate of the '50s, when the full dimensions of mass society were beginning to reveal themselves and people were trying to figure out how to cope with them. The question implicit in the letter is the central one: is *The Lonely Crowd* merely a period-piece, to be filed away with the pegged trousers and blue-suede shoes, or is it still with us?

When the book first appeared, in the rather formidable 1950 Yale hardcover edition, Riesman, Glazer and Denney (hereafter I will refer only to Riesman) had no expectation that its sale would be anything more than "a few thousand copies as a reading in social science courses." But in 1953 it was picked up and abridged by the new Doubleday Anchor paperback line (now out of print), and it took off. It became the first "quality" paperback to find a large general audience; indeed, it can be said to have made sociology "popular," being the first of several '50s books, of varying merit, that set middle-class America on a binge of self-scrutiny: Whyte's *The Organization Man*, Mills' *The Power Elite*, Packard's *Affluent Society*. It even got Riesman on the cover of *Time*.

Though I have no way of substantiating the claim, I suspect that I read the book as many others did. I came to it in the throes of a garden-variety case of teen-aged *angst*, and the book appeared to be an unexpected deliverance. Its definitions of "social character" seemed to offer a way by which to define myself (inaccurately, I now know), and thus to set up a convenient line of defense against an army of teen-aged insecurities. Others, of course, approached the book with different problems and yearnings, but I think we had in common the belief that it could provide clues to self-discovery.

That was not at all what Riesman had intended, and in the preface to the 1961 paperback he is at pains to say so, but *The Lonely Crowd* has been plagued from the outset by readers who avidly seek out its descriptions of "inner-direction," "other-direction," "autonomy" and the like as, Riesman notes, "a test of their character, in the old-fashioned and non-technical sense of the word 'character.'" Rereading the book now, I am struck by how much in it we had to ignore in order to read it as we did, for it is filled with passages in which Riesman carefully cautions against drawing narrow conclusions from generalized conjecture, and against attaching value judgments to the types of social character he defines. But when the scholar ventures into the public marketplace he risks misinterpretation, and *The Lonely Crowd* is hardly the first book people have read for their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own purposes rather than the author's.

What Riesman was out to do was to portray American society by exploring its varieties of "social character," defined as "that part of 'character' which is shared among significant social groups and which, as most contemporary social scientists define it, is the product of the experience of those groups." That suggests, immediately, the point so many of us missed: Riesman was attempting to depict the ways in which conformity is *enforced*. He was not trying, as was so widely believed, to show that America had moved from "rugged individualism" to "conformity," for "inner-direction" is not a synonym for the former, nor is "other-direction" one for the latter. Each of Riesman's types is a form of conformity.

Riesman defined three broad types, and pegged them to a population "S-curve." At the bottom of the curve, when population is stable but has "high growth potential," the dominant type is "tradition-directed"; this is characteristic of primitive or underdeveloped societies, in which the individual conforms to "patterns which have endured for centuries," and it appears in 20th-century America only among very isolated minority groups. In the stage of "transitional growth," the rise in the "S," the individual is taught early in life a set of fixed goals – success, piety, self-mastery or what have you – that become an internalized "psychological gyroscope" pointing him in the onward-and-upward directions set by parents and other authorities; this is "inner-direction," and Riesman saw it as characteristic of this country in the period of growth and industrialization that began in about 1830. Finally, at the top of the "S," in a time of "incipient decline of population," society becomes more oriented to consumption than production and the "other-directed" type emerges; he "learns to respond to signals from a far wider circle than is constituted by his parents," and his conformity is thus "externalized."

These changes are by no means absolute. The character types indicate trends rather than any orderly progression; all three types were evident to varying degrees when Riesman wrote, and they still are. There are no litmus tests by which "social character" can be determined; *how* conformity is enforced is more important than *what* is conformed to, and within the three broad types there are endless possibilities for behavioral variations. Though Riesman identifies other-direction with consumption and inner-direction with production, it is perfectly obvious that in mass society production is still of central importance; the difference, Riesman would argue if I understand him correctly, is that the work ethic is no longer predominant.

Riesman does argue that society is becoming more and more other-directed, and he has been widely interpreted as viewing that trend with alarm; that is a fundamental misreading of the book. If anything, in what may seem an excess of optimism, Riesman in his 1961 preface draws a comparison between inner- and other-direction that reflects most favorably on the latter: "The other-directed person wants to be loved rather than esteemed; he wants not to gull or impress, let alone oppress, others but, in the current phrase, to relate to them; he seeks less a snobbish status in the eyes of others than assurance of being emotionally in tune with them. . . . No lover of toughness and invulnerability should forget the gains made possible by the considerateness, sensitivity and tolerance that are among the positive qualities of other-direction." The inner-directed man is encased in a shell; the other-directed man is open to the world.

Yet Riesman's defense of other-direction does not disguise a certain ambivalence. He eschews value judgments, he says, but there is a rather damning judgment of other-direction in his portraits of the "glad-hander," the "inside-dopester" and the false "sincerity" of some business and social relations. He is far less sympathetic to those who have "adjusted" to other-directed society – "those who reflect their society, or their class within the society, with the least distortion" – than to the man who is seeking to become "autonomous," to acquire the "heightened self-consciousness" that enables him to "recognize and respect his own feelings, his own potentialities, his own limitations."

This emphasis on autonomy in the book's final chapters in large part explains its popularity. Those chapters explore various ways – some plausible, some not – by which people might "discover that their own thoughts and their own lives are quite as interesting as other people's, that, indeed, they no more assuage their loneliness in a crowd of peers than one can assuage one's thirst by drinking sea water." My guess is that most of the book's nonacademic readers were educated people who felt that they were, somehow, apart from or even better than the "crowd of peers," and were looking for confirmation of their status, or for ways by which to make sure of being more than faces in the crowd.

The popularity of *The Lonely Crowd* as an unintended guidebook to "nonconformist" behavior and attitudes greatly irritated many of Riesman's fellow sociologists, which doubtless contributed to the vehemence of some of the criticism it met. Still, the critics made valid points. So far as the book's internal construction was concerned, perhaps the most important of these was that in tying his definitions of social character to the "S-curve" Riesman was on shaky demographical ground; the device is fundamentally artificial, and as he acknowledges in the 1961 preface "no such deterministic historical sequence" is really necessary to explain the character types, which are valid on their own. The book has also been attacked for excessive generalization – though to the lay reader its refusal to wallow in statistics and its willingness to make bold judgments are among its most appealing qualities – and for underestimating the conformist, anti-autonomous influence of the mass media.

But though sociologists find plenty to argue with in *The Lonely Crowd*, they have by no means abandoned it. The book has moved out of the spotlight of popularity it rather uncomfortably occupied, back to the readers for whom it was originally intended. It is still essential reading in college sociology courses, and it hardly seems ready for the fate of *Anthony Adverse*; to younger students of American society, as one told me, it is "a work to which we refer regularly, and a work which we have found almost impossible to 'get around.' "

That *The Lonely Crowd* still has an audience, even though the book is no longer on the paperback rack at the neighborhood card shop, seems to me to reflect two considerations. One is that it is an imaginative, humane, generous-spirited piece of work. Its language may be sociological, sometimes lamentably so, but its basic impulse is creative. Riesman and his associates had the vision to find broad patterns in Ameri-

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

KARL SHAPIRO, *whose latest book is* Edsel *(Bernard Geis), teaches English at the University of California, Davis.* JAMES WALT *teaches English at the University of Maryland.* JONATHAN YARDLEY *is book editor of the* Greensboro Daily News.

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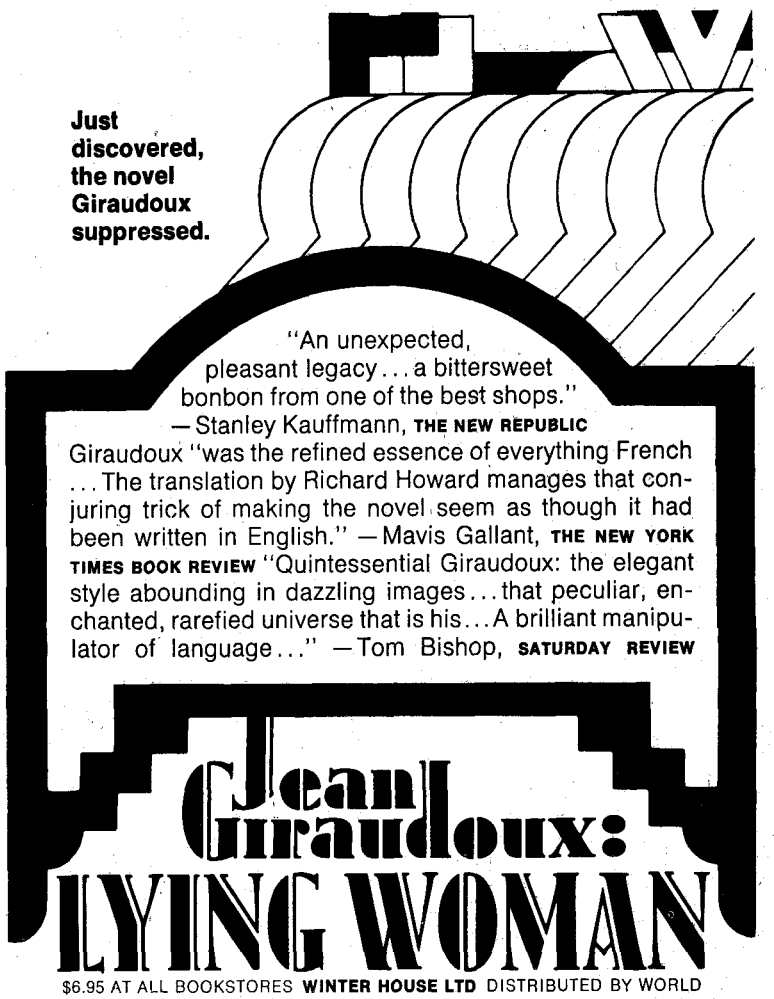
can society and the boldness to advance them unprotected by the shield of sociological "proof." "Mainly," Riesman wrote in the preface to the Anchor edition, "... this book is based on our experiences of living in America – the people we have met, the jobs we have held, the movies we have seen." It is a view of America that owes as much to the imagination of the novelist as to the research of the sociologist; the book is as stimulating and vigorous now as it was two decades ago.

The second reason – the one that refutes my correspondent's claims against the book – is that the book's definitions of social character and its predictions about the development of American society have held up very well. The other-directed person is clearly the American of the '70s, and there could be no more persuasive evidence than the Reich generation itself, with its antennae so keenly tuned to pop communications, to peer-group styles, to the feelings of others. At its best, that generation is proving the accuracy of Riesman's judgment that "considerateness, sensitivity and tolerance" are characteristic of a social character that is directed toward others.

Riesman anticipated the increased restlessness of women – and the sympathy with which he wrote about the American housewife deserves a belated note of appreciation. His feeling that Americans would more and more seek out avenues toward autonomy is less easily substantiated, but there is evidence that people are learning to occupy their growing leisure time with private and sometimes creative pursuits: a possible indicator, not as trivial as it may seem, is the decline of the mass-circulation general magazine and the rise of smaller periodicals catering to specific, sometimes highly sophisticated, minority interests.

By no means have the other two character types (the tradition-directed and the inner-directed) vanished; the complexity and what Riesman called the "mystery" of American society make sure of that. But the more populous we become, the more easily we travel about, the more quickly we are placed in communication with others – the more secure will be the hold of other-direction

Coming:
John Seelye
on Edward Hopper
and N. C. Wyeth.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on the American character. That being so, *The Lonely Crowd* remains at least as instructive now as it was in 1950, all the more so as the reality it perceived closes in on us.

Reich's disciples would find, if they could conceive of trusting a book that is all of 22 years old, that it speaks to them with at least as much "relevance" as do their current gurus.

Jonathan Yardley

Correspondence

Marine Life

Sirs:

The article by Professor Ross ("Who Owns the Oceans," January 1 & 8, 1972) expresses some popular views that are wholly unfounded. There are several references to threatened "extinction" or "destruction" of "many varieties of marine life" from overfishing. This has no basis whatsoever insofar as it applies to any species of marine fish. There are no species of marine fish which are now, or which have been, commercially exploited that are threatened with extinction from that source. Because marine mammals have entirely different life histories it is entirely possible to overexploit them to extinction, but this proves nothing about the effects of mortality from fishing upon the existence of species of fish.

Professor Ross suggests that Ecuador's 200-mile limit is an effort to protect yellowfin tuna from being destroyed by US fishermen. This is ludicrous. For over two decades there has been an international treaty, open to accession by any state, providing for conservation of the yellowfin tuna and other species of the eastern tropical Pacific, including the ocean off Ecuador. For the past six years there has been an agreed international quota on the annual catch of yellowfin tuna. Ecuador has not participated in this arrangement. This is significant in view of the fact that the 200-mile limit off Ecuador cannot protect a species of fish, such as tuna, which migrate well beyond such a limit.

One wonders whence came the idea that there is now an "apparent unwillingness" in Washington to bring about a change in the 200-mile territorial sea claims in South America. US policy on this matter changed a number of years ago and there have recently been several lengthy multilateral negotiations between the US and several Latin American states in an effort to resolve the differences on this issue. Representatives of the tuna industry are not only aware of these conferences, they participated in them as members of, or advisors to, the US delegation. For the past three years the US government has been engaged in intensive preparations for negotiating this issue in an effort at a global settlement of the fisheries issue and several others related to it. In August 1971 the US tabled draft treaty articles on the subject of fishery allocation and conservation in the United Nations body dealing with the subject. In sum there is little or no evidence to suggest that the US is any longer unwilling to negotiate a resolution of this dispute. The overwhelming evidence is that the US is so extremely anxious to resolve territorial sea and other limits that it is willing to compromise on some matters of very great importance to the US and the world, especially the freedom to conduct scientific research at sea.

William T. Burke
School of Law
University of Washington

In reply . . .

Professor Burke makes one valid point: I should have made reference to the treaty providing for quotas on the annual catch of yellowfin tuna. I believe a careful reading of the article will reveal, however, no attribution of purely altruistic motives to Ecuador, and in fact a specific reference to "whatever purpose of questionable legitimacy Ecuador may have." As for the "apparent unwillingness" of Washington to act in the matter, which in context clearly meant apparent to the spokesmen of the tuna industry: if this is not how these spokesmen perceive the situation, then why do they speak as they do? Whether the unwillingness is real or only apparent is another issue; but for my part I do not accept the willingness of the Nixon administration to participate in international negotiations as sufficient evidence of willingness to take needed action. Negotiations can be a prelude to such action, a substitute for action, or a smokescreen behind which to conduct contrary action.

Most disturbing, however, in Professor Burke's letter is his refusal to recognize any threat to marine fish life from overexploitation. We have been down this road so often, and have been raped on every trip; will we never learn? The forests of what is now known as the "cut-over region" of the East North Central States were so vast that they could survive any amount of harvesting; the Great Lakes were obviously big enough to absorb and digest any amount of waste disposal; the buffalo herds were limitless in their extent; the sea turtle guarantees its immortality by laying a thousand eggs at a sitting. It is certainly correct that the tuna is not now in the position of the passenger pigeon; but to say that there is "no basis whatsoever" for warning against a threat to "any species of marine fish" indicates either total subservience to a special interest group or incredible myopia. Obviously Professor Burke cannot suffer under either of these handicaps or he would not be teaching at a distinguished School of Law; but can he explain why, if no such threat exists, there is a treaty providing for the conservation of these fish?

The point of the article was not that Ecuador is good and tuna fishing is bad, but that somehow the use of the resources of the high seas has to be regulated. Power vacuums are often filled in peculiar and undesirable ways, and doubtless the Ecuadorian navy is not the appropriate agency to fill this one. But the solution must be to fill it in a sensible manner, not to deny that it exists.

David F. Ross

'72 Campaign

Sirs:

I would like to add to your note (Jan. 22) indicating that many supporters of former Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough urged him to run for governor instead of for the United States Senate. Prior to Senator Yarborough's announcement, Barefoot Sanders had announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator. Mr. Sanders, a former Assistant Attorney General of the United States and Legislative Counsel to President Lyndon Johnson, is highly regarded by a great many long-time Yarborough supporters. At 47 years of age, Mr. Sanders will be able to serve Texas and the United States for many years; whereas, at 68 years of age, Senator Yarborough could serve one or possi-

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bly two terms, most of which would be at the bottom of the seniority ladder.

Many former Yarborough supporters committed themselves to Mr. Sanders prior to Senator Yarborough's entry and sincerely regret that Senator Yarborough is not running for governor, a two-year term office, where he could have made an enormous contribution.

Jay M. Vogelson
Dallas, Texas

Federal Subsidies

Sirs:

Your Feb. 5, 1972, article, "Cornucopious Subsidies," contains a rather curious proposal: "A subsidy might be defined to include not only direct federal payments to individuals such as farmers, but indirect payments in the form of tax deductions to homeowners for their real estate tax and mortgage interest payments. Under that definition, we all are subsidized to some degree or other." Surely, since everything the government does benefits *someone* in at least an indirect way, your definition would simply make the word "subsidy" a synonym of "government action."

If I say, "The cat is on the mat," and choose to define the word "mat" as "any location whatever," I can be quite certain that the cat will always be found on the mat, even if it is up a tree, on the neighbor's fence, or in the street. The problem is that my manipulated definition has now made it impossible for me to know where the cat is to be looked for when I say that he is on the mat; but that was the ostensible purpose in my using the sentence in the first place.

Such is, I fear, the case with your redefinition of a subsidy, for what it blurs is the distinction—which my banker, at least, thinks a vital one—between receiving money in and paying money out. As a homeowner I pay a real estate tax, and the government has decided that I should not have to pay an additional (income) tax on the money I pay out on the first tax. This is to give me a subsidy? You complain that the poor are deprived of "the host of subsidies available to the wealthy or even the middle class." But the real estate tax which I pay out is, in a large proportion, sent by the government which collects it to a poor family on welfare. That family is receiving a subsidy, and because it is a poor family it does not even pay an income tax on the monies it receives. To imply that that family and my family are right there together receiving a government dole, separated only by "some degree," is, I suggest, absurd.

Welfare reform is desperately needed, and I support it. The poor should and must have a greater share in the goods of our society—even if I must help to a greater degree than at present to pay for it! Tax reform is overdue as well. But these causes are not well served by abusing words like "subsidy" to the point that they lose all meaning.

Craig Stark
Sarah Lawrence College

Nixon Watch

Sirs:

Back in 1969, writing on President Nixon's Midway Island conference with General Thieu, John Osborne was very optimistic about the prospects of peace in Vietnam. This seemed to be based mainly on faith in the sincerity of official informants, plus the fact that General Thieu looked glum (*NR*, June 21, 1969). In short, Mr. Osborne displayed a very potent will to believe. That was 3 million tons of bombs ago; and, of course, before President Nixon really solidified his support of General Thieu and the hard-liners inherited from the French colonial era.

I write this because his recent NR writings seem so much like a rerun of the past, with an almost total unwillingness to come to grips with nasty but fundamental questions. Has he reflected on why he missed the boat in 1969? Or doesn't he care?

Consider as an illustration his handling of the uses of the election process in Vietnam. His statement that the NLF and DRV plan would "relieve Hanoi and the NLF of the embarrassment of having to contest a popular election" (Feb. 12, 1972) seems to me a marvel of misplaced sarcasm. It begs nearly all the relevant questions. For example:

1) If the point of our three year old basic policy of Vietnamization plus bombing was to convert an unfavorable political and military environment into one in which our military junta could prevail, is this not a simple policy of force which makes elections beside the point? And if this is our basic policy, why should the NLF and DRV be expected to fall into line when the time suits Mr. Nixon?

2) Does General Thieu go in for real election contests? Does his agreement to go along with the election plan suggest anything about its seriousness as a substantive proposal for settlement?

3) Can free elections be held in a devastated country, militarized to the teeth, run by anti-democratic politicians, and with as many as one-third of the population directly or indirectly on the payroll of a huge foreign power?

4) Hasn't Vietnamization and bombing destroyed whatever potential elections had for settling the war? Doesn't that make the present call for elections remarkable hypocrisy?

5) Even with Thieu stepping down for a month, won't his forces control the police, communications, and a well developed and well financed administrative-military machine? Could any feasible international control machinery hope to control the uses of this apparatus at the local level?

6) Since the sheer weight of American power has forced the NLF and many of its supporters underground, won't they refuse to expose themselves until *after* an assured political settlement has been reached?

7) Is it not obvious that in the circumstances prevailing in South Vietnam, a political settlement short of victory requires the negotiation of a compromise government with real power as a first step, rather than as a product of an election process that has been made completely unworkable?

8) Finally, is it not plausible, and supported by a wide range of political considerations, that Mr. Nixon pushes this unworkable solution, just as Johnson did periodically, because the phrase "free elections" sounds so virtuous, and its difficulties can be obscured in a flood of rhetoric? Also, because, with media cooperation, and again as with Johnson, it may enable him to continue for a while longer his quest for military victory, direct or by partial proxy?

Edward S. Herman
University of Pennsylvania

In reply:

Amused though I am by being bracketed with Dean Rusk, I grant that Mr. Herman and the letter writers who share his view are entitled to answers, which are herewith keyed to his general point and his following 8 points:

As to my 1969 reports, I believed and

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wrote that Mr. Nixon was prepared to make larger concessions than he publicly indicated for a negotiated end of the war. I didn't "miss the boat"; Hanoi did. Now to the numbered points:

1) Only simpletons would conclude that the Nixon policy since 1969 has been merely "a simple policy of force"; its been a policy of negotiation backed by force, unsuccessful but not intended to be unsuccessful or to make "elections beside the point." I no more expect "the NLF and DRV to fall into line" with Nixon than I expect Nixon to fall into line with them.

2) Thieu manifestly is not a devotee of "real elections"; but he did tolerate one in which his opponents divided 65% of the vote.

3) Having been in Vietnam during two elections under oppressive regimes, I'd say that, yes, that country's persistent and enduring people can make their will known despite the devastation and repressions visited upon them. The evidence suggests to me that the Hanoi and NLF Communists have a more accurate awareness of the possibility than Mr. Herman does.

4) No. Who proposes that elections "settle the war"? Not Nixon.

5) Agreed. The question is whether the apparatus determines the outcome. I think Mr. Herman exaggerates its capacity to do so.

6) That's right – "they" demand a sure thing.

7) That's right. "A compromise government with real power" is attainable if Hanoi and the NLF become willing to negotiate a viable compromise. In that event, I think we'll see Nixon disposing with brutal expedition of the obstructions to such a compromise that Thieu may be expected to raise.

8) It's plausible to people who assume that Nixon is incapable of accepting a settlement short of "military victory." I do not assume that, although he persists in making it all too easy to assume.

John Osborne

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Oil Industry

Sirs:

"Embroiled in Oil" (January 29, 1972) has a serious error. It is stated: "If an oil producer invests $10,000 in buying drilling rights, strikes oil and then sells the oil for $100,000 each year for ten years, the depletion deduction would be $22,000 for each year for the full life of the well. The oil producer recovers $220,000 – 22 times original investment." My exception to this statement is that the initial investment to bring a well into production is not the price of the lease (drilling rights) but the price of the lease plus the cost to drill the hole, complete it, put in a production wellhead and controls and safety equipment, and to lay gathering lines so the oil can be collected. Today, in United States wells in the contiguous forty-eight states, it costs on the order of $10.00 per foot to drill a well 10,000 feet deep. For a deep gas well in West Texas, the cost may be more like $30.00 per foot for a 25,000 ft. well. These are, of course, typical or average numbers. Thus the initial investment to drill the hole is $100,000 to $750,000. After the tubular goods needed to complete the well and all the other equipment are added in, the typical initial investment is $200,000 to $2,000,000. Offshore, or in the Arctic, these numbers are increased by a factor of 2 to 10. Therefore, the recovery due to the depletion allowance is not anywhere near "22 times" but much less. Typically, it may run 100 percent over 10 years which is roughly 10 percent per year. This is not an incredibly high return on investment to cover the risk involved.

George S. Stivers
Houston, Texas

Forest Service

Sirs:

Eliot Marshall hit the nail on the head in his article, "The Lumber Lobby," in your February 5 issue. Having had considerable experience with Forest Service policies and practices in our western states I know of no agency of government concerned with public lands which demonstrates such ignorance of and disregard for general ecological principles as does Smokey. If there should be a congressional inquiry into the Forest Service it should not limit its investigations to clearcutting but should include its policies as to recreation, wildlife, watershed protection, and grazing. The situation in the National Forests of Southern California is particularly reprehensible.

Harry C. James
President, The Trailfinders
Banning, California

Farm Co-ops

Sirs:

Peter Barnes' articles ("Cooperatives That Work," Jan. 1 & 8), duly noted

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the tendencies of cooperatives to become larger and more impersonal entities with the passage of time. One reason for this is the existence of a bountiful tax loophole designed uniquely for cooperatives.

Cooperatives do $20 billion of business annually. Over a third of the coops in America pay no taxes at all. Many of the rest pay absurdly small or token amounts. A few examples will illustrate the magnitude of this competitive advantage as well as the loss to the public revenues. Agway, a large cooperative with revenues of over half a billion dollars, has paid taxes amounting to approximately 15 per cent of net income since it first began its business, which proximately 15 percent of net income since it first began its business, which includes real estate ventures, insurance and petroleum production. Farmland Industries of Missouri, with 1968 sales of $375 million, has historically paid less than 10 percent of net income in taxes. Farmers Regional Cooperative (FELCO) paid only $917 in federal taxes on sales of $34 million in 1965 – the last year data are available.

The mechanics of the tax loophole are relatively easy to understand. Whereas the average business corporation pays a tax on net income *before* deducting payments in the form of dividends to its stockholders, cooperatives are allowed to pay taxes on net income computed *after* deducting their "patronage refunds."

There is one further advantage to cooperatives in this tax set-up. In fact, most of the patronage allocation never leaves the cooperative treasury. Patrons are given slips of paper announcing their right in some future year to the allocation. The patrons, of course, must pay taxes on this allocation despite the fact that they only receive a small percentage in cash. The result is that cooperatives have large sums retained in the business unsubjected to the burdens of federal income taxation, sums which have been used to finance expansion and growth into fields far beyond the ken of the original cooperative.

Few people question the special circumstance of farmers and urban consumers for whom the tax provisions of cooperatives were first designed. But it is clear that cooperatives have used this exemption to build empires rather than build the lives of their patrons. It is time to bring the income of these unrelated cooperative activities within the purview of regular corporate taxation.

Taggart D. Adams
New York City

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

If ever Liza Minnelli actually exists, not peddling souvenirs of her mother as woman and singer, she might be good.

The success of the film is Michael York as the quasi-Isherwood hero. In his previous films – *Accident, The Guru,* and others – he's been interesting but hampered by script or direction. In *Cabaret,* right from his arrival in Berlin in 1930 broad-brimmed fedora, he strikes the center of the role and holds it. Pride, abashed eroticism, civilized intelligence, humaneness, fear and strength, all come to him easily and with charm.

As the master of ceremonies, Joel Grey repeats the good death's-head performance that he gave on Broadway. One curious point in casting is the use of two German actors, Helmut Griem and Fritz Wepper, who are both good but who resemble each other so closely that there's confusion. Of all the actors in Germany (where the picture was made), why two who look so much alike?

The gritty songs – by John Kander and Fred Ebb – are belted home; the film looks continuously chic; the grimness and gaiety are adroitly interwoven. *Cabaret* is far better than most movie musicals; but Fosse's smartness, Minnelli's professional unhealth, and the script's chrome-plated carpentry keep it from being as moving as it wanted to be.

It's a good old game to imagine what happened before or after famous literary works. Ludwig Lewisohn wrote *The Last Days of Shylock,* a postlude to *The Merchant of Venice;* Anatole France wrote *Balthasar,* a beautiful prelude to the Gospels. Michael Hastings, the English playwright, has written a novel called *The Nightcomers* which is a prelude to *The Turn of the Screw,* and has adapted it for the screen. The novel is coming; the film is here.

Miss Jessel and Peter Quint are having an affair, as Henry James implied, a wild sado-masochistic one, too; and they are having a bad effect on the children, as James implied. The children bring about their deaths, out of misguided good intentions, and the way is paved for the arrival of the new governess and the beginning of James's story.

Hastings disagrees with the idea that, as Edmund Wilson said in the last postscript to his famous essay, the new governess was suffering from delusions. To Hastings, she was simply very sensitive to the heavy Krafft-Ebing redolence that Quint and Jessel had left behind.

It's moderately ingenious preplotting but nothing more; so it's superfluous. Marlon Brando, sporting a brogue, lounges lewdly through Quint. Stephanie Beacham, as Miss Jessel, is very attractive, dressed and undressed. But the most interesting performer is Verna Harvey as little Flora. Now *there's* a child with a wicked face.

I suppose *Bartleby* is one of my lost causes, like *Brotherly Love* (Peter O'Toole's picture). A poor film with fine acting in it. Who cares? Well, I do, very much; and there may be others.

In this English import, Herman Melville's story is transposed to London today, is attenuated, is directed with cloddish artiness. But there are two jewels in it. John McEnery in the title role achieves such intense inner concentration that his immobility, amidst a rushing world, is perfectly convincing; and Paul Scofield, as the employer, is simply brilliant. Delicately and deeply, Scofield cuts the portrait of a businessman who has built a role for himself in life the way an actor does in rehearsals and who feels it being punctured by the very existence of this nonconformist.

Scofield couldn't be as good, in his more varied part, if McEnery weren't so good in his monochrome one. In fact, one could argue that McEnery's job is harder *because* less varied. But Scofield, catalyzed by this Bartleby, seems to make his thoughts speak, articulates with pause and rhythm, renders a whole man with his inflections of the commonplace. On balance, it's more impressive than his Lear in Brook's film.

Anthony Friedmann, the director, doesn't yet know much about making films, but at least he appreciates acting. Thanks to him for that – from me and, I hope, others.

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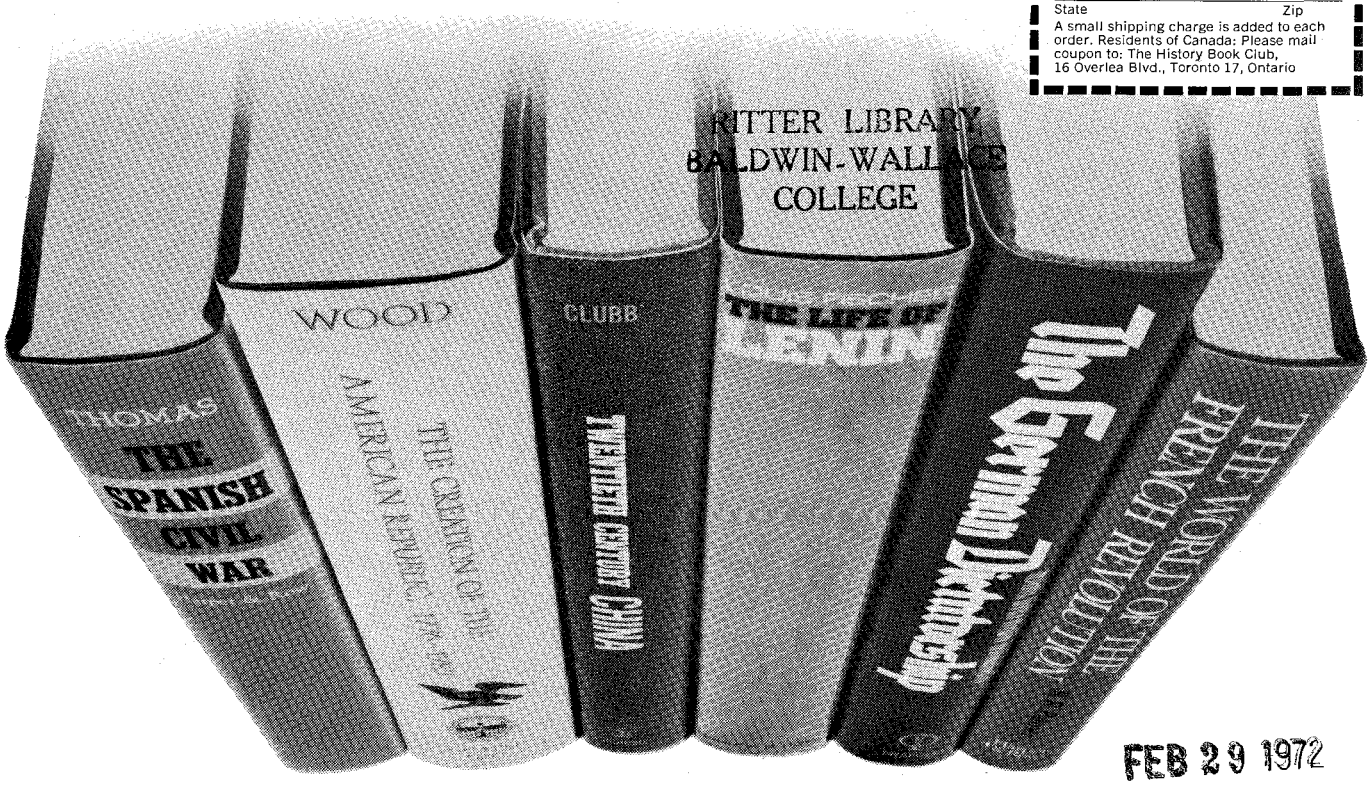

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